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THE ROMAN FRONTIER LAND

I. A. RICHMOND

All Souls College, Oxford

IT IS BOTH INESCAPABLE and ineluctably right that the title of this paper should suggest to the British historian Hadrian's Wall. For this great barrier, short in length as Roman frontier-lines went, yet in grandeur of natural setting and in monumentality of design superior to them all, has cast its spell upon all historians of early Britain from Nennius and Bede to the present day. But it would be wrong to view the work in isolation, historically or strategically, and the purpose of this survey is to summarize the setting of Hadrian's Wall in those terms.

The idea that while all Britain might be conquered in war not all need be included within the Roman province was in Hadrian's day no novelty. Those who applied his policy so quickly to a wider field could quote¹ the Tacitean justification of a line between Forth and Clyde, *summotis hostibus*—'the enemy extruded', as Agricola perhaps himself phrased it. But, having chosen the Forth-Clyde isthmus as a temporary halting point² or screen behind which consolidation might take place, Agricola penetrated further. There can be little doubt that his son-in-law's phrase³ *perdomita Britannia*—'Britain conquered from end to end'—was substantially true: yet even then the limit fixed for permanent absorption of territory within the province represented the fringe of the Highlands, from Kincardineshire to the Clyde.⁴ The Highlands themselves, seamed with narrow and treacherous glens and deeply eroded from the west by the Atlantic sea-lochs, presented an inconveniently large number of insuperable natural obstacles to the Roman system of control⁵ by cordons of strategic roads and garrisons. This system was triumphantly extended, first by Cerialis and then by Agricola, from new legionary bases at York and Chester to the Pennines, the Scottish Lowlands and Strathmore. But there its usefulness ended; and the acknowledgement of the fact, combined with the experience that campaigning

¹ *Agr.* 23, 2, quod tum præsidiis firmabatur atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus. Cf. *SHA, Ant. Pius*, 5, 4, Britannos per Lollium Urbicum vicit legatum alio muro cæspiticio summotis barbaris ducto.

² *Agr.* 23, 1 ac si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus.

³ *Hist.* i, 2, 1 perdomita Britannia et statim missa.

⁴ *JRS* xlviii, 91.

⁵ *Agr.* 20, 3 civitates . . . præsidiis castellisque circumdatæ.

—as shown by an Agricolan temporary camp⁶ in the Pass of Grange—could proceed much further, was the basis for the bitter reproach fastened upon Domitian—*perdomita Britannia et statim missa*, 'Britain conquered from end to end and straightway relinquished'. An unpopular Emperor could be made the scapegoat for a distasteful decision imposed by wholly local reasons, which in fact baulked Agricola and the Emperor alike of a coveted achievement, the complete conquest of the entire island.

Viewed in these over-all terms, Agricola's campaigns are overshadowed by a sense of failure which is not absent⁷ from the pages of his biography. But in terms of organization or consolidation what had been undertaken was immense. The extent and rapidity of the reconnaissance which formed the basis for the campaigning and for the permanent works which followed hard upon the army movements, must command the admiration of every student of strategy. As for the permanent forts, their number and their distribution is astonishing.⁸ Every principal cross-route connecting the eastern and western lines of penetration to the north, every harbour with good landward connections, and every important Highland pass from Callender to the Cairn o' Mount, were occupied by forts at key positions. Granted that the defences are normally of earth and timber work, and that the internal buildings are timber-framed, none the less the problem of material supplies and of their erection is one that remains worthy of the finest quantity surveyor and the most skilled engineer officer. The glimpse that State papers afford of the castle-building activities of King Edward I is imposing enough, but it becomes wholly insignificant if compared with the implications of the Roman achievement. A major structural programme, whose requirements would tax a Ministry of Supply nowadays, is taken in their stride, during a continuing series of campaigns, by the legionary artificers and engineering staff, so far as skilled work and organization were concerned; for the rest, the native *corvées* must have been worked to the bone, as Tacitus⁹ knew and put into the mouth of Calgacus. But the vast cost in materials is matched by a no less extensive problem in man-power and the maintenance of the permanent garrisons. Whether these were infantry, cavalry or the part-mounted units not uncommon in the Roman army, they were not less than five hundred strong apiece and frequently one thousand strong among the infantry. While the cost of pay and maintenance fell upon the province, the cost of equipment fell upon the state, and it must have been a nice question of balance how wide an occupied zone was necessary strategically and profitable in

⁶ *JRS* xlviii, 93.

⁷ The abrupt transition from chapters 38 to 39 with no summing up of achievement is perhaps more telling than any phrase.

⁸ North of Chester and York just over fifty sites of permanent forts actually known to have been occupied by Agricolan troops exist, and at least ten more can be inferred. The area involved is well over 10,000 square miles.

⁹ *Agr.* 31, 2 corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis inter verbera et contumelias conteruntur.

relation to provincial taxation yields and economic health. Again, the strength of a provincial army might be reduced by the claims of other strategically more important areas. This last factor certainly operated soon after Agricola's recall, when Britain was stripped of a legion for use in Pannonia and adjustments were in due course¹⁰ made which involved the evacuation of Scotland north of the Tay. It may well have been the demands of the Dacian wars which were the direct or indirect cause of the second withdrawal, when all Scotland appears to have been abandoned, not long after A.D. 103. This was the situation which in turn led to the reforms of Hadrian, for it created a reservoir of hostile Britons large enough to inflict upon Roman arms a resounding defeat. The loss of the Ninth Legion, replaced at York by the Sixth Legion in A.D. 122, is not so clear a matter¹¹ as to warrant the many loose assertions which have been made about its fate. But its replacement, by the Emperor who first made *disciplina* the subject of propaganda on the coinage,¹² is not a matter of doubt; and cashiering of this kind¹³ followed only violent mutiny, of which there is here no question, or disgraceful defeat.

If, then, Hadrian's new measures altered at all the late-Trajanic disposition of the strategic cordon of forts and roads, the alterations were small. Neither did they reduce the reservoir of hostility. But they gave the cordon a firm edge and created a barrier which was at once an Iron Curtain, rigidly blocking and controlling contact with the hostile world, and a spring-board from which to regain initiative when attacked. The engineered frontier-line, choosing the shortest distance of 80 Roman miles from sea to sea, or *de oceano in oceanum*,¹⁴ as the Roman more imaginatively put it, sacrificed the possibility of a borderline which, like the medieval Border, would have given more direct contact with the gathering grounds for attack. It compensated for this deficiency by a choice of ground related to function and purpose that once again displayed to the full the Roman genius for picking terrain to fit a need. Commencing initially¹⁵ at the bridge-head of Newcastle upon Tyne, the Roman *Pons Aelius*, and very soon extended so as to start at Wallsend,¹⁶ the Wall ran along the northern rim of Tynedale, until it crossed the North Tyne below Chollerford. In this sector it commands almost everywhere a superb view of the forward terrain, sufficient to spy and to anticipate hostile movements. And this advantage is enhanced when

¹⁰ Inchtuthil was not abandoned until after 87, *JRS* xlv, 123.

¹¹ For the latest comment, R. Syme, *Tacitus* 247, 490.

¹² *BMC* iii, p. clxxxi: as Mattingly remarks the type is linked with the *exercitus* series (see *ibid.* clxxiii) but runs to *aurei* as they do not. The novelty of the theme deserves more stress than it has received.

¹³ Even mutiny might be glozed over, see the remarks of Syme, *JRS* xviii, 54 and Birley, *ibid.* 59: disgraceful or irretrievable defeat is much the more likely, apart from the special case.

¹⁴ Cf. *SHA, Severus*, 18, 2 *Britanniam* . . . muro per transversam insulam ducto utrinque ad finem oceani munivit: *CIL* vii 498 *a* and *b* the former reading *inter utrumque o[ceani] litus* or the like: *Cosm. Rav.* 432, 9, *de oceano in oceano [sic]*.

¹⁵ *Northumberland County History*, xiii, 537-8.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.* 488, for the building of Wall and fort at one and the same time.

the Wall climbs out of the North Tyne Valley and runs along the rim of South Tynedale, soon to bestride the majestic escarpment of the Whin Sill and its surging columnar cliffs. After this the course in Cumberland is tame, and the outlook relatively less good; but it is in no sense bad and the skilful siting of the work from Carlisle to Bowness-on-Solway deserves particular comment. This striking choice of ground, with a view to commanding enemy movements, is intimately related to the design of the work itself. As a barrier the Wall, not less than 15 feet high¹⁷ to rampart-walk, was difficult to scale, and immediate approach was hindered by the great ditch, running in front of it, 27 feet wide and some 10 feet deep. The Wall was manned by sentinel-signallers, stationed in turrets at every 540 yards, while at every mile a turret crowned a milecastle gateway,¹⁸ forming a sally-port through the Wall. The tactical function of the barrier now becomes clearer. In the wild and open moorlands which lie to north and south of the Wall the difficulty was ever to halt and to pin down a mobile enemy. The Wall provided the obstacle against which the enemy could be pinned or driven, its sally-ports the means of doing so, and its position the means of anticipating an attack and so regaining an initiative which might seem to have passed to enemy hands. In short, if the enemy chose the time of attack, the Wall provided the means of containing it and of rolling up the enemy against the very barrier which was the object of assault. The fighting garrison at Roman disposal lay at first behind the Wall, along the road which linked Corbridge and Carlisle, and both to east and to west of these points forts which yet await recognition or discovery must have existed behind the line. Kirkbride in Cumberland¹⁹ is an almost certain example. But the success of such tactics depends upon speed of movement, and even while the Wall was in process of construction²⁰ the change was made which planted the forts on the line of the Wall itself in the bold positions that have been familiar to antiquaries for centuries. The fact that not a few of these forts were designed from the first²¹ for cavalry garrisons will illustrate the part which the troops were intended to play. Their function was to emerge and fight, using the Wall as a spring-board from which to gain the initiative: and the screen against enemy observation which the Wall itself provided would enable every variation of surprise to be exploited through the fort gateways and the milecastle sally-ports. Roman arms,

¹⁷ For estimates of height, see Simpson, *CW*² xi, 420, which chooses 'about 14 feet' based upon the stairs at milecastle 48 and the arch of the north gate of milecastle 37. This is accepted by Brewis *AA*⁴ ix, 202, as a slight variation upon his conjecture of 'about sixteen feet' in *AA*⁴ iv, 115-16, on the basis of the ladder-platform in turrets (*AA*⁴ ix, 203). Richmond and Child, *AA*⁴ xx, 146-7, accept 15½ feet.

¹⁸ For absence of a tower at the south gate of milecastles, see *CW*² xxxv, 224.

¹⁹ Pottery from Kirkbride, Bruce, *Lap. Sept.*, p. 269, nos. 531, 532: other objects, *CW*² iii, 407: Ferguson thought that the church stood in a fort, *CW*¹ iii, 77.

²⁰ Evidence from Halton (*AA*⁴ xiv, 161-2) and Benwell (*AA*⁴ xix, 20) gives the forts, like the milecastles, to Platorius Nepos; but the addition of the forts is clearly proved at Halton (*loc. cit.*), Chesters (*JRS* xxxvi, 134), Housesteads (*PSAN*⁴ x, 274, *JRS loc. cit.*) and Birdoswald (*PSAN*⁴ x, 274, *JRS loc. cit.*).

²¹ Namely, Halton, Chesters, Stanwix.

Roman armour and Roman disciplined movement could thus be used to fullest advantage²² against an enemy ill-found in comparison as regards weapons, protective clothing or operations in formation.

Once the system was established the enemy can hardly have failed to put it to the test. This is suggested by the fact that forts continued to be added to the initial series on more than one occasion. The extension of the Wall from Newcastle to a new fort at Wallsend has already been mentioned; but Greatchesters²³ in the Caw Burn gap was added about the same time, while Carrawburgh,²⁴ between Chesters and Housesteads, Carvoran²⁵ at the Tipalt gap and Drumburgh²⁶ on the Solway shore are later additions still. But it cannot be said that pressure was everywhere equal or that its main impact went ungauged. It is noteworthy that east of the North Tyne the only addition ever made to the widely-spaced forts was at Wallsend and that no outpost-forts lay forward of the Wall. Between North Tyne and Irthing no less than three forts were added to the initial scheme, indicating that enemy probing was here more thorough than the wildness of the terrain might have led any planners to anticipate. But in Cumberland precautions were from the first emphatic. Here, at Stanwix,²⁷ the Eden bridgehead, lay the *ala Petriana*, a cavalry regiment one thousand strong and the only one of its kind on the Wall. Such regiments were always placed on Roman frontiers at the point where major thrusts might be expected. Nor was this all. Beyond Stanwix, the main lines of approach were guarded by three outpost forts,²⁸ at Bewcastle, Netherby and Birrens; so that an enemy concentration might be deterred, harassed or broken up. Further, inasmuch as the *ala Petriana* at Stanwix was the senior regiment on the Wall, the frontier headquarters must have lain there: and there is evidence, at crucial points on the southward road, of a through signalling-system²⁹ established between Stanwix and legionary headquarters at York. The military dispositions thus indicate that the major reservoir of trouble lay in south-west Scotland, among the *Novantæ* of Galloway and Nithsdale and the *Selgovæ* of the upper Tweed basin, Liddesdale and Eskdale. If further proof of the fact were wanting, it is afforded by the provision of mile-fortlets and towers, soon supplemented by forts, on the Cumberland coast³⁰ from Bowness-on-Solway to Moresby, north of Whitehaven. The barrier of the Wall was 80 Roman miles long. The Cumberland coastal defences extend its

²² At first shown by R. G. Collingwood in *The Vasculum*, viii (1921), 4-9.

²³ Relation to the Wall, *AA*⁴ ii, 197; to milecastle 43, *JRS* xxx, 161, 163-4.

²⁴ Relation to the Vallum, *JRS* xxv, 203; inscription of Iulius Severus, *JRS* xxxiv, 87-8, where Severus must be preferred since the cohort was elsewhere under Iulius Verus.

²⁵ *PSAN*⁴ ix, 250; *JRS* xxxi, 142.

²⁶ *CW*² lii, 13. ²⁷ *JRS* xxxi, 129-30, pl. xii: for the name.

²⁸ Bewcastle, *CW*² xxxviii, 195-237—for Hadrianic date *CIL* vii, 978 in which the Emperor's name is certain, if little else: Netherby, *CW*² liii, 6-39—for Hadrianic date, *ibid.* 21, citing *CIL* vii, 961: Birrens, *PSAD* lxxii, 301, for Hadrianic date.

²⁹ *Aspects of Archaeology in Britain and Beyond* (1951), 293-302.

³⁰ *CW*² xxix, 138; xlvi, 78; liv, 28 provide the principal information so far secured. The signal-tower furthest south lies at Lowca, just north of Moresby.

sentinel-signallers for not less than another 35 Roman miles, beyond the limit of sea-borne raiding across the Solway firth. No small effort expended in protection of this dangerous flank.

The offensive potentialities of this formidable defensive barrier have now been summarized in detail. But it will be apparent to the student of the terrain that the lands south of the Wall, contained by a cordon of garrisoned roads embracing hundreds of square miles,³¹ were no less wild than those to north. Their inhabitants, mostly pastoralists³² at a low subsistence level, must have been difficult to control and resentful of regulation, readier to break laws than to obey them. To such people the presence of a vast garrison extended across their northern front must have constituted an irresistible temptation to pilfering and marauding. The first plan for the Wall, with sentinels on the barrier and fighting garrisons behind it, obviously presented extended opportunities for this frontiersman's pastime. The second plan, with all garrisons concentrated on the Wall-line, equally obviously made possible an attempt to stop such incursions, though it would probably be wrong to conclude that this factor, as compared with the offensive advantages which the new arrangement gave, had any formative influence upon the new dispositions. It was among their consequences rather than their causes. Be that as it may, steps were taken, immediately upon the transfer of the fighting garrisons to the forward line, to enclose the whole line by a barrier to the rear, well known to antiquaries by the name 'Vallum', first given to it by the Venerable Bede.³³ Bede chose this name because he was attaching his explanation of the work to the north and south mounds which delimit a cleared strip 80 feet wide. But the engineers who made the earthwork, and any engineer who might view it today, would attach more importance to the great ditch which runs along the axis of the strip: and *fossa* or *fossatum* would certainly be the happier term for the work. The profile of the ditch is not now everywhere uniform: cleaning out and re-cutting in Roman times have altered it, and it is conceivable that there were declinations from uniformity even in its original state. But wherever rock, or an artificial revetment in stone or turfwork, or early filling-in, have preserved³⁴ the original cross-section, the ditch is uniformly a flat-bottomed cutting, 8 feet wide across the bottom, 20 feet wide across the top and 10 feet deep. The material from the ditch is piled in two flat-topped mounds, 20 feet wide and some 6 feet high, whose profiles are kept bold by broad revetments³⁵ of turfwork containing in rigid and tidy form the excavated upcast. These

³¹ The area can be roughly estimated at 8000 square miles.

³² *CW*² xxxiii, 191, 224.

³³ *Hist. Eccl.* i, 5, non muro, ut quidam aestimant, sed vallo distinguendam putavit; i, 12, murum . . . ubi et Severus quondam vallum facerat firmo de lapide collocarunt.

³⁴ Such sections occur at Benwell (rock-cut) *NCH* xiii, 526 and *AA*⁴ xix, 36; at Heddon-on-the-Wall (rock-cut) *AA*² xvi, p. xxvi, plate; at Down Hill (rock-cut), *ibid.*; at Carrawburgh (rock-cut), *JRS* xxv, 203; at Housesteads (rock-cut) *AA*⁴ ix, 226; at Cockmount Hill (filled-in), *JRS* xxx, 164; at Poltross Burn (revetted) *CW*² xiii, 394, pl. xxxiii; at Birdoswald (filled-in), *CW*² xxxiii, 251, fig. 7.

³⁵ Turf-work revetments, *CW*² xxxvii, 159, fig. 2.

mounds are 100 feet apart from crest to crest; and it will be observed that the total width of the work is one *actus* (120 feet), a unit well known to the Roman engineer and land-surveyor. By visualizing the two 30-foot spaces between mounds and ditch as kept clear and trim, the whole work can be seen as a barrier associated with a clear field of vision, a *limes*³⁶ in the civil engineer's sense of the word. It differs from the military defensive work³⁷ in affording no specific advantage to either side and in the total absence of specifically defensive fortifications.

There is, however, no doubt that the Vallum was under military surveillance. This is proved by its relationship to the Wall and by the arrangements for crossing it. Normally it lies close behind the Wall and can be clearly seen from it. The only exceptions are where it lies at the tail of the Whin Sill, in order to avoid cutting the ditch for mile after mile through volcanic rock, and where, east of Burgh-by-Sands in Cumberland, it takes a short cut from Kirkandrews to Wormanby. Even in these sectors the work would still be under less immediate surveillance. The crossings are more telling. The only points at which there were thoroughfares through the Vallum (with the possible exception of the two north roads, where the arrangements³⁸ are unknown) are the forts. There the mounds were furnished with turf-reveted gaps, while the ditch was left uncut across a masonry-reveted 20-foot causeway³⁹ with vertical sides, in the middle of which stood a stone-framed gateway closed by a two-leaved door, whose bolts or bars were controlled from the side facing the fort. Once again, the absence of all defensive features from the gateway design will be noted. The arrangement at milecastles is known only by two published examples,⁴⁰ both in Cumberland, where the Vallum is associated with a first phase of the Wall in turfwork and where the two works lie so close that the design of the Vallum made important concessions to the Turf Wall, showing that the Turf Wall came first and demonstrating the sequence⁴¹ of the two works for the first time and conclusively. The original plan of the causeway across the ditch is much obscured by later alterations, but amid the changes two facts stand out: first, there was no passage through the south mound of the Vallum; second, there was originally a narrow stone-reveted causeway which led from the milecastle on to the space between south mound and ditch. It is conceivable that at other milecastles, for example, at milecastle 23, where Miss Swinbank has carried out an investigation, there was no original causeway. It is certain that in no case was a thoroughfare provided for the public. Indeed, it can now be

³⁶ Cf. Velleius, ii, 120 *penetrat interior, aperit limites*.

³⁷ *CW*² xxii, 356-7.

³⁸ Nothing is likely to be discovered at Stanwix. But at Portgate, where Dere Street crosses the Wall, Horsley (*Brit. Rom.* 142-3) recorded 'a *castellum* half within the wall and half without'.

³⁹ Benwell causeway, *AA*⁴ xi, 177; Housesteads, *AA*⁴ xi, 188; Greatchesters, *AA*⁴ xxix, 223, note 11; Birdoswald, *CW*² xxxiii, 247.

⁴⁰ High House, *CW*² xxxvii, 166-75; Wall Bowers, *ibid.*, 158-66.

⁴¹ *CW*² xxxvii, 172, fig. 17.

said that, except for possible arrangements (and these not proven) at the passage of the north roads, there was no provision whatever for civilian traffic across the frontier and that convoys reached even the forts themselves only through carefully barred gates. It has been argued in the past—particularly in a widely distributed school text-book⁴²—that Wall and Vallum were a double barrier, the one military and the other civilian, the one defensive and the other fiscal, under jurisdiction of legate and procurator respectively. It should be realized that this view was formulated before the milecastles had furnished evidence of an intimate and close military surveillance of the Vallum. When, however, no arrangement for civilian crossing of the frontier is discernible and no reason for the collection of fiscal dues can be adduced, *cadit quaestio*. By way of emphasis upon the unrelenting continuity of the Vallum ditch as an obstacle, two points may be added. Where the ditch crosses streams, as at Poltross Burn, it is carried down to the edge of the stream walled in masonry.⁴³ Long centuries of flood and erosion have washed out the actual point of crossing; but the suggestion would be that the ditch was artificially built with embankments and that the stream passed in a culvert below it. This idea, bold in the scholar's study but a bagatelle in the engineer's office, wins confirmation from the second point, that in marshes, as at White Moss⁴⁴ in Cumberland, where the ditch cannot be dug, it is actually built with its bottom at ground-level and its sides raised as embankments. The only point where the ditch is known to be omitted is on the precipitous boulder-clay cliff⁴⁵ of Harrow's Scar, on the west bank of the Irthing: and here long subsequent erosion has rendered it impossible to learn whether the place of the ditch was taken by some other form of obstacle, such as a dry hedge or palisade.

It can now be seen how closely interlocked in over-all function are the two works which went to make Hadrian's frontier in its final form. The defensive Wall, a formidable barrier impenetrable by normal assault, quite literally walled off all access to the province: none went in or out. At the same time the military garrison could use it as a base for a highly flexible defence by offensive sally, whereby the Roman troops, and particularly the cavalry, could turn the Wall itself into a corral against which to drive and pin down their enemy. The barrier thus created a major strategical opportunity and turned a featureless wilderness into a tactical trap completely in Roman favour. The corollary of such a continuous fortified belt is that its second side should be firmly delimited and secured from the minor inconveniences of pilfering and petty raiding. This required a clearly defined boundary and a generally impassable obstacle, with controlled entry to the mili-

⁴² Collingwood and Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, edn. i (1936), 134; edn. ii (1937), 134, always with the proviso, that Collingwood himself made, 'there is no proof that this explanation of the Vallum is correct'.

⁴³ *CW*² xiii, 393.

⁴⁴ *CW*² xxii, 363-4.

⁴⁵ *CW*² lvi, 25-6.

tary zone; needs which are met in all essentials by the Vallum. The works together formed a veritable Iron Curtain.

It is the prerogative of Great Powers to change their minds, and the habit of military problems to change also. The subsequent history of the Wall illustrates both axioms, and underlines also the fact that the simple problems of everyday existence also had their contribution to make to the general picture. When Hadrian died, in A.D. 138, one of three points must have been clear. Either the new frontier was a success and barbarian attempts to cross it had ceased; or the attempts continued heavily, costing a steady toll in military casualties; or a sort of stalemate had been reached, in which the barrier was under mild or sporadic pressure. Any of these circumstances would invite a change in policy. Success would tempt to further absorption; failure or half-failure would call for action. No literary source indicates the truth, but the new Emperor had the reputation⁴⁶ for not going to war unprovoked and the drastic action now taken was to go back to the late Domitianic position, with the addition of a new Wall⁴⁷ on Agricola's halting-line between Forth and Clyde. The new Wall had its own pattern and its own vicissitudes, the latter neither well understood nor easily correlated with the fragmentary historical sources.⁴⁸ But it is plain that on Hadrian's Wall it had two effects. The first was a release of tension and slackening of military control. The Vallum⁴⁹ was abolished as a boundary and systematically slighted by breaches and causeways at every 45 yards and extra wide causeways at milecastles. The Wall was not so treated, but the sentinel system came to an end with the evacuation of turrets; and the removal of milecastle doors⁵⁰ gave free access to and fro through the barrier. The forts, however, continued to be occupied, though by fresh units.⁵¹ Above all, outside the forts there was a substantial change. From the first the needs of the men in trade and amusement must have been catered for by campfollowers or squatters, who would settle in simple booths and dwellings outside the forts. After A.D. 139 these settlements increased in size and at Benwell,⁵² for example, spread across the site of the Vallum, filling up its ditch, though not destroying the gateway⁵³ at the site of its crossing. It is plain that the civilian life of the *vicus* or corporate settlement outside the fort was opening out: and it is right to compare this with the contemporary forward movement of the *villa*, or Romanized farm, into County Durham,⁵⁴ although a comparable movement into Cumberland has not yet been detected. Conversely, the *vicus* at Carlisle⁵⁵ was growing at a pace which outstripped that of any known in the east. But in the late

⁴⁶ Pausanias, *Græciæ descr.* viii, 43, 3, πόλεμον μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἐθειλοντὴς ἐπηγάγετο οὐδένα.

⁴⁷ *SHA, Antoninus Pius*, 5, 4 alio muro cæspiticio summotis barbaris ducto.

⁴⁸ For the latest summary of these difficulties, see Anne Robertson, *An Antonine Fort, Golden Hill, Duntocher* (1957), 112-21.

⁴⁹ *CW*² xxii, 420 for the first statement of this solution.

⁵⁰ *AA*⁴ xxxi, 172.

⁵¹ Birley, *CW*² xxxix, 212-20.

⁵² *AA*⁴ xix, 35.

⁵³ *AA*⁴ xi, 180, fig. 3.

⁵⁴ *AA*⁴ xxii, 1-21; xxix, 203-12; xxxi, 116-26.

⁵⁵ *CW*² xxiv, 109.

fifties and early sixties this modest forward movement of civilization—if it deserves so grandiose a name—was halted by a crisis. Hadrian's Wall was occupied once again⁵⁶ by sentinel-signallers, turrets returned to use and milecastle gates were furnished anew with doors. The result is clear enough, and its precursor in campaigning⁵⁷ had been to pour troops, including reinforcements from the Rhineland sent for British legions direct to the Tyne, into the Tyne-Solway gap. Obviously the intention, both in campaign and in permanent disposition, was to prevent contact between the tribes of southern Scotland and the Brigantes of northern England among both of which groups reconstructed forts attest disturbances which had required to be quelled. Whether the Vallum ditch was now re-cut is not demonstrable, but this action is more likely now than in any later period. It happened, however, only in the sectors between forts and not quite everywhere there. At most forts⁵⁸ the gateways were still functioning and perhaps another form of block ran between the buildings of the extramural settlements. In the open country, at such positions as Cockmount Hill, where a lake behind the Vallum formed until the eighteenth century a sufficient obstacle, the slighting causeways were left in position and the lake deemed enough.⁵⁹

There is no indication that this state of affairs altered in the second century. But at its close the withdrawal of troops from the Wall to support the claims of Clodius Albinus against Severus and their defeat in February 197 at the battle of Tinurtium, near Lyons, led to a violent northern reaction against the hated barrier. Not only were the forts and settlements of the Wall and the hinterland far to the south⁶⁰ sacked and destroyed, but serious attempts were made to pull down the Wall itself and destroy its usefulness for war. In the reconstruction which followed many gaps in fort-walls⁶¹ had to be reconstructed from the ground up, breaches in the Wall itself hundreds of yards long had to be similarly rebuilt throughout its length,⁶² and the huge masonry of the north gateway of Housesteads milecastle (no. 37) still bears witness⁶³ to the attempts to lever it out of position and bring down the arch in ruin. These facts are well known, but the riot of destruction implies a hate and a determination to delay the day of reckoning which makes the more comprehensible the grim determination of Severus to push the punitive campaigns to their full conclusion. The delay was indeed con-

⁵⁶ For the date, see *AA*⁴ xv, 267.

⁵⁷ For proof of campaigning, see *EE* ix, 1383, as reconsidered in *AA*⁴ xxi, 178; for the reinforcements, *EE* ix, 1163.

⁵⁸ For example, Benwell, *AA*⁴ xi, 180-3; Housesteads, *AA*⁴ xi, 188-90; but not Birdoswald, where the physical peculiarities of the site governed the situation, *CW*² xxxiii, 247-52.

⁵⁹ *CW*² xxii, 425; for the lake, known as The Loddams, see Ordnance Survey, 6-inch scale, 1862, Northumberland sheet xcii, then much shrunk.

⁶⁰ Inscriptions take the destruction as far south as Ribchester, *EE* ix, 1114.

⁶¹ Housesteads, *Handbook to the Roman Wall* (11th edn., 1957), 125, 127; Birdoswald, *ibid.* 176, 177.

⁶² Steelrig, *CW*² xiii, 307-8 (750 yards); Garthside, *CW*² xxxiv, 142 (300 yards); Solway House, *CW*² lii, 23 (280 yards).

⁶³ *AA*⁴ xi, 107-8 (milecastle 37); cf. milecastles 40, 48, *CW*² xi, 416-17.

siderable. While the forts of the hinterland were being reconstructed⁶⁴ in 197 and 198, the inscriptions⁶⁵ commemorating re-building of forts and outpost-forts of Hadrian's Wall belong to the years 205–8, when successful campaigning beyond the Wall⁶⁶ was also in progress. In the three years that followed came the punitive campaigns of Severus and his sons, which appear to have rivalled those of Agricola in force and penetration:⁶⁷ when they were over, a new kind of frontier world is disclosed.

The pattern and organization of the Severan Wall differ substantially from those of its predecessor. The sentinel-signallers still existed, but the regularity of the system was abolished. For example, on the Whin Sill crags many turrets⁶⁸ were levelled to the ground. Milecastle gateways⁶⁹ were reduced to mere posterns or foot-passages, showing that their function as sally-ports was over. In the forts there is a tendency to increased size of garrison.⁷⁰ This is not demonstrable everywhere. But at Housesteads a cavalry formation, the *cuneus Frisiorum*, and a German irregular unit, the *numerus Hnaudifridi*, take their place alongside the regular *cohors I Tungorum*. At Birdoswald, *cohors I Dacorum* is paired with another unit, apparently Thracians. At Burgh-by-Sands the *numerus Maurorum Aballavensium* is grouped with the regular milliary First cohort of Germans. At Castlesteads and at Chesters German irregulars appear. The significance of these far-reaching changes in the garrison will appear more clearly when the outpost forts have been considered.

The system of outpost forts originally devised under Hadrian in the west was now extended to the east, so that there were five in all. Birrens Netherby and Bewcastle were reconstructed in the west, Bewcastle in highly irregular polygonal form.⁷¹ In the east the Dere Street forts of Risingham and High Rochester became outpost forts⁷² for the first time, and Risingham was rebuilt to Severan pattern with polygonal gatetowers. Two contemporary African outpost forts on the Fezzan routes are strikingly similar.⁷³ All these British outpost forts appear to have housed milliary part-mounted units,⁷⁴ in areas which were mostly

⁶⁴ Reconstruction of 197 occurs at Brough under Stainmore (*EE* vii, 951 and *JRS* xiv, 248); of 198 at Ilkley (*CIL* vii, 210) and Bowes (*CIL* vii, 273).

⁶⁵ Chesters (*EE* vii, 1020, 1028; *AA*⁴ xvi, 241); Birdoswald (*JRS* xxi, 143); Risingham (*CIL* vii, 1003).

⁶⁶ Dio, lxxvi, 10, ἐν τῇ βρεττανίᾳ τοὺς πολέμους δι' ἐτέρων νικῶν, referring to the governorship of Senecio.

⁶⁷ As illustrated by the fact that Severus could observe the solar parallax, Dio, lxxvi, 13, οὐ μέντοι ἀπέστη γε πρὶν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ τῆς νήσον πλησιάζειν ὅπου γε τὰ μάλιστα τὴν τε τοῦ ἡλίου παράλλαξιν . . . κατεφώρασε.

⁶⁸ *CW*² xxxiv, 142 for collected references for turrets 19a, 39a, 39b, 50a and 54a; for others unpublished *CW*² xiii, 308, referring to the crags.

⁶⁹ Milecastle 37, *AA*⁴ xi, 109; 38, *AA*⁴ xiii, 265; 39 *ibid.* 268; 40 *CW*² xiii, 318; 48, *CW*² xi, 412, 417; 49, 50, 52 and 54, *CW*² lvi, 19.

⁷⁰ Housesteads, Frisii *EE* vii, 1041, n. Hnaudifridi, *AA*³ xix, 186; Birdoswald, *JRS* xix, 214; Burgh-by-Sands, *CW*² xxxix, 191; Castlesteads, *CIL* vii, 332, see *EE* ix, p. 566.

⁷¹ *CW*² xxxviii, 196.

⁷² *NCH* xv, 82–94.

⁷³ *Papers of the British School at Rome*, xxii, 56–68.

⁷⁴ Risingham, *CIL*, vii, 1003; High Rochester, *CIL* vii, 1043; Netherby, *CIL* vii, 954; Bewcastle, *EE* ix, 1227; Birrens, *CIL* vii, 1066, *EE* ix, 1228.

only just large enough to hold them. But in addition three⁷⁵ of them, and probably all five, were the headquarters of irregular units. High Rochester was the base for the *exploratores Bremanienses*: Risingham controlled a unit of *Raeti Gaesati* and another of *exploratores*: Netherby was named *Castra Exploratorum*, and itself held a milliary part-mounted cohort. The stations and organization of the irregular units remains one of the unsolved problems of the British frontier at large. In Germany,⁷⁶ corresponding units were stationed in forts of their own which were closely associated with those of the regular garrison and sometimes physically attached to them. No trace of such accommodation has yet been detected in northern Britain. But no serious attention has been given to the problem, and it would be rash indeed to presume that forts for irregulars did not exist. There is, however, some reason for thinking that the irregulars were also out-stationed: Jedburgh Abbey⁷⁷ has yielded two stones best ascribed to the third century, one of which commemorates the High Rochester garrison of the period and the other the *Raeti Gaesati* of Risingham. This would fit the function of *exploratores*, whose business it was to act as frontier scouts: and their duties, associated with a *genus hominum a veteribus institutum*, are well described by Ammianus Marcellinus:⁷⁸ *id enim illis erat officium, ut ultro citroque per longa spatia discurrentes vicinarum gentium strepitus nostris ducibus intimarent*. It was, then, of special importance to the successful working of the whole system that the main outpost forts upon which the *exploratores* depended for organization and commissariat should be impregnable. This explains the elaborate artillery defences of High Rochester, where the *ballistaria*, or engine-platforms, described⁷⁹ in inscriptions of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander, have been identified by excavation and related to the local terrain in a fashion unique in Roman frontier history.

A picture thus emerges, with highlights and shadows, of a new type of frontier organization. The strategy of local sallies based upon the Wall is abandoned in favour of more mobile action in advance of it over a much wider field, in which strong points and minor observation posts are held by Roman regular and irregular troops. The Wall, however, does not lose its importance as limiting the field of action and dictating the choice of field for encounter, and it remains as firm and unrelenting a barrier as ever against illicit movement across the frontier.⁸⁰ What has happened is that the field of manoeuvre has widened to the position it reached on the medieval March, exploiting the strategical advantages of the true geographical boundary between England and Scotland, but

⁷⁵ *Exploratores Bremanienses*, *CIL* vii, 1030; *Raeti Gaesati* and *exploratores* *CIL* vii, 1002; *Castra exploratorum*, *It. Ant.*, 467, 1.

⁷⁶ W. Schleiermacher, xxxiii *Bericht der R.-G. Komm.* 142-9.

⁷⁷ *EE* vii, 1092, *PSAS* lvii, 173; for comment see *NCH* xv, 96.

⁷⁸ *Amm. Marc.* xxviii, 3, 8.

⁷⁹ *CIL* vii, 1043; 1044 and 1045 formed one stone: for comment and details of artillery platforms, *NCH* xv, 98-9.

⁸⁰ There are no customs gates, and the walling-up of milecastle 22 (*AA*⁴ viii, 319) might be adduced also.

adding to them the significant background of an engineered barrier. It is perhaps not surprising that an anonymous Elizabethan strategist⁸¹ recommended the re-use of Hadrian's Wall for the same purpose when in fact the problems were so similar in the two ages.

But the Elizabethan solution was propounded to suit a territory north of the Wall which was agreed to belong to the people south of it. This position must in some degree now have been reached in the Roman arrangement. Risingham and High Rochester possessed civilian extra-mural settlements.⁸² Iron from the Redesdale ore deposits⁸³ was coming into the military arsenal at Corbridge for working up into wrought-iron weapons and hard-ware. Moreover, the *exploratores* and other irregulars, if they matched contingents of the same kind from Britain on the German frontier, must have been brought to their new stations with their families, in a community transportation⁸⁴ of the kind increasingly well known in the Roman world. This would imply a scatter of farming-settlements of native type all over the area from which would come in due course the new levies that were to keep up to strength the original contingent. The skill and experience of frontier scouts would thus be handed on from generation to generation. The legal corollary of this type of settlement is that a substantial slice of territory north of the Wall had become an effective Roman possession.

The civil settlements or *vici* beyond the Wall at Risingham and High Rochester have already been mentioned. Behind the shelter of the Wall there was an even bigger development of such villages. Not only trade was increasing their size: the permission now extended to serving soldiers to marry⁸⁵ was a sure means of developing extra-mural settlements. At the same time the *vici* became the natural market centre for the community settlements of irregulars, and the focus also of their religious cults,⁸⁶ as inscriptions from Housesteads indicate. The barbarous nature of those cults, *Mars Thingsus* and the *Alaisiagæ* at Housesteads, the *Unseni Fersomeri* at Old Penrith,⁸⁷ or the assimilation by the irregulars of a native deity such as *Maponus* at Castlesteads,⁸⁸ indicate how thin might be the Roman veneer which expressed the vows in Latin, and how sympathy with native folk might grow.

The causes of this new planting of population in the frontier land may be sought in three directions. It implies in the first place a more mobile enemy, presumably raiding on horseback for longer distances.

⁸¹ Calendar of Border Papers (Edin. 1894), i, 300-2, no. 581 of 1587.

⁸² For civilian tombstones from Risingham, built into the fourth-century fort-wall see *CIL* vii, 1014, 1015, 1019, and others 1013, 1017, 1018: from High Rochester, *CIL* vii, 1059, *NCH* xv, 153, no. 38.

⁸³ *AA*⁴ xvii, 113-14.

⁸⁴ For example, the Ubii Tac. *Germ.* 28; *CIL* xiv, 3608 = *ILS* 986, Transdanuviani; for a literary description of the actual transportation, *Panegyrici*, v, 9.

⁸⁵ Herodian iii, 8, 5 γυναιξί τε συνοικεῖν: cf. *SHA. Alex. Sev.* 58, 4, which implies the fact among frontier-troops.

⁸⁶ *EE* vii, 1041; *AA*³ xix, 186.

⁸⁷ *EE* ix, 1124.

⁸⁸ *EE* ix, p. 566, commenting on *CIL* vii, 332.

Secondly, it will suggest a Roman desire to build up a force of territorially-based frontiersmen, who could be relied upon to free the regular troops for action elsewhere if required. Only so could a mobile or mounted field-army, the crying need of the third century, be built up. Thirdly, the new irregular settlements provided a means of increasing production in agriculture and domestic animals, particularly army mounts and baggage animals. But there were two kinds of strain which the new system could not bear. The first was a mass withdrawal of regular troops. This happened during the usurpation of Allectus when, in 296, the regular Wall-garrison was withdrawn⁸⁹ to meet the threat of re-conquest by the central government. The northern tribes took the opportunity to break through the Wall and to devastate both it and most of northern Britain. Yet recovery was tolerably quick, more rapid than after 197; for the regular troops had not gone down fighting, as then, and most units could return intact to their posts. The new civil settlements which grew up on the ruins of those destroyed were larger than ever.⁹⁰ Now too for the first time a customs-gate⁹¹ appears in the Wall at Housesteads, so indicating increased opportunities for traffic with the outer zone. The fate of the *exploratores* and their like during the disastrous invasion is not evident; but it is clear that to north of the Wall they continued to exist, though they now had a new name, evidently⁹² a local by-name, the *areani* or 'folk of the vacant space', their duties being the same as before.

The second danger, or strain, which the system could not stand was the disloyalty or treachery of the *exploratores*, who were in fact the eyes of the frontier troops. The worship of British deities by such units has already been noted as indicating a tendency to make common cause with local natives. From such a stage it was not a difficult transition to feel in sympathy with those beyond the frontier. Hints that all was not correct in the behaviour of the *areani* are appearing by A.D. 343, when something in their organization⁹³ engaged the attention of Constans in a January crisis. In A.D. 367-9 came a clearly defined dereliction. The *areani* made common cause with the enemy and disclosed to them operations on the Roman side, having been tempted by the promise of a share in the booty.⁹⁴ They were thereupon abolished and the occupied zone beyond the Wall with them. On the Wall the consequence of the invasion was a complete break with tradition. The garrisons of regular troops disappeared: their place was taken by soldiers of the irregular

⁸⁹ The withdrawal is an inference from the fact that while the forts were sacked in 296 the garrisons of the third century return to their posts.

⁹⁰ AA⁴ xiv, 176, with references there quoted.

⁹¹ AA⁴ xiv, 172-7: for the significance of the double doors, see Bruce, *Handbook to the Roman Wall* (11th edn. 1957), 118.

⁹² This was first observed by Mr. C. E. Stevens, *Latomus* xiv (1955), 395, who based the interpretation upon the rare use of *area* to mean a sheep-fold in St. Mark vi, 40, in the *Itala*. The more general classical meaning of 'vacant space' is perhaps easier.

⁹³ *Amm. Marc.* xxviii, 8 *genus hominum . . . super quibus aliqua in actibus Constantis retulimus.*

⁹⁴ *ibid.* *acceptarum promissarumque magnitudine prædarum allectos.*

class, garrisoning the milecastles and turrets from the rebuilt forts, where they lived with their families⁹⁵ behind walls round which no extramural settlement any longer clustered. The masonry and buildings of the forts,⁹⁶ crude in execution and slovenly in the fashion of their use, reflect the para-military status of the new occupants, who may have been drafted in from far.⁹⁷ And the same conditions apply at forts or fortified sites deep in the hinterland as, for example, Catterick⁹⁸ in Swaledale or Brough by Bainbridge⁹⁹ in Wensleydale. The stage is prepared for the transition from weakness to breakdown of an organized frontier land.

'Today the Roman and his trouble, are ashes under Uricon.' So wrote Housman, reflecting a view of the irrelevance of history. But the lesson here, if it be read aright, is not irrelevant. It is a story of intelligent and organized reaction to the problem of gaining the initiative, when it might seem to have been lost, by the use of good planning. It is a record of changes searchingly devised to meet changing conditions. Finally, it is an illustration of the perilously close and subtle relationship between devolution and dissolution. It will not readily be contended that such considerations are either worthless or irrelevant to the present day, when a right judgement in not dissimilar problems is the veritable condition of survival.

⁹⁵ The presence of civilians inside the forts was first suggested for Housesteads on archaeological evidence by R. C. Bosanquet, *AA*² xxv, 235: cf. Chesterholm, *principia AA*⁴ xiii, 227, and other buildings, Birley, *The Centenary Pilgrimage of Hadrian's Wall*, 56; also Malton, still earlier, *The Defences of the R. fort at Malton*, 67.

⁹⁶ Birdoswald, *AA* iv, 70, plate; *CW*² xxx, 170. Chesterholm, *AA*⁴ viii, 196-7, 200; ix, 217; xiii, 225-7.

⁹⁷ Birley, *CW*² xxx, 195; cf. *CW*² xxxix, 199.

⁹⁸ *YAS* xxxix, 239-46.

⁹⁹ *Proc. Leeds Philosophical Soc.* i, 268-70.

THE POPE-BURNING PROCESSIONS OF THE LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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AMONG THE STRANGEST MANIFESTATIONS of early party rivalry in England were the Pope-burning processions organized in London by the Whig Exclusionists in Charles II's reign. What significance did they have, and why should they have caught the public imagination as they did? The answer lies partly in the violent anti-Catholic feeling of the 1670s, and partly in the first Earl of Shaftesbury's genius for political propaganda. After his brief ministerial career Shaftesbury had by this time become the highly ambitious and skilful head of the Country party, leading the party not only in Parliament, but outside it, in the City of London. Here he proceeded to court not only the rich and influential City merchants and traders, but also the 'mob', whose prejudices and various hatreds he forged into a sharp political weapon. Almost as soon as he was dismissed he turned to the City for support in opposing Charles' government. In 1676 he moved from Exeter House in the Strand to Thanet House in Aldersgate Street so as to be right in the City, and deliberately lived and moved with the politically-minded elements there. 'He took heart and hied as fast as he could into the City, with resolution to become a citizen, and trod the Exchange as a merchant, and as constantly as any, being then to drive a great trade in the small wares of popularity'—so wrote a pamphleteer two years later.¹ Clubs were started, pamphlets and petitions circulated, and political agents frequented the coffee houses. Danby, striving to build a Court party for Charles, saw the danger, and tried unsuccessfully both to ban the coffee houses and to evict Shaftesbury from the City.² The exact date when the most famous of all the clubs, the Green Ribbon Club, was founded is unknown, but it was probably well established by 1676, being housed in the King's Head Tavern at Chancery Lane End. It constituted the secret headquarters of Shaftesbury's party, and it was here that the Pope-burning processions were organized after the 'discovery' of the Popish Plot.

¹ *Honesty's Best Policy, or Penitence the Sum of Prudence, being a brief discourse in honour of the Right Honourable Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury's humble acknowledgement and submission for his offences at the bar of the House of Lords, on the 15th of February, 1677/8, 1678.*

² A. Browning, *Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby*, 1951, I. 194, 196.

There were, however, several Pope-burnings before 1678. In the early 1670s the country had already begun to fear the growth of Popery, and the populace took their cue from the anti-Catholic addresses passed by Parliament. The custom grew up of burning effigies of the Pope on Guy Fawkes night: the first record of this is for the year 1673, when James had made a highly unpopular marriage with the Catholic Princess Mary of Modena, and when England was involved in a war with the Dutch apparently for the benefit of the French. Charles Hatton wrote that 'The Pope and his Cardinals were, in Cheapside and other places, hung up and burned in their effigies. One told me he counted two hundred bonfires between Temple Bar and Aldgate.'³ Four years later there is again evidence that Popes were burnt: on 5 November 1677 a large crowd collected at the Monument, 'but they only burnt the Pope and so went home'.⁴ Shortly after, on 17 November, the accession day of Queen Elizabeth, which had long been a traditional occasion for popular celebrations,⁵ not unconnected with religious prejudices, an effort at organization was obviously made. Charles Hatton tells us that there were 'mighty bonfires and the burning of a most costly Pope, carried by four persons in divers habits, and the effigies of two devils whispering in his ears, his belly filled full of live cats who squawled most hideously as soon as they felt the fire: the common people saying all the while it was the language of the Pope and the Devil in a dialogue betwixt them. A tierce of claret was set out before the Temple Gate for the common people. Mr. Langhorne saith he is very confident the pageantry cost forty pounds.'⁶

Londoners were already getting used to lending support to the 'Protestant' cause on any occasion: Shaftesbury had enlisted 'a mob from Wapping and Southwark' to appear at Westminster to support his argument that Parliament was *ipso facto* dissolved after its long prorogation of fifteen months.⁷ A general election at that stage would have suited him very well, but his plea failed, and it proved one of the few really bad blunders of his career: as a result he had to cool off in the Tower for contempt of Parliament. In February 1678 he was released, and in August Titus Oates made his revelation that the Papists were plotting to assassinate Charles and take over the government. Little might have come of this had not Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, the London magistrate who was furnished with the details, been the victim of a still unsolved murder mystery. At the time no one doubted that his death was part of the Plot, and from that moment Shaftesbury was able to fan the flames of fear and panic to such an extent that Danby's

³ *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, ed. E. M. Thompson, Camden Society, 1878, i. 119. See also *Letters addressed to Sir Joseph Williamson*, ed. W. D. Christie, Camden Society, 1874, ii. 67, 71.

⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic. 1677-1678*, p. 446.

⁵ See J. E. Neale, *Essays in Elizabethan History*, 1958, pp. 9-20.

⁶ *Hatton, Correspondence*, i. 157.

⁷ R. North: *Examen, or an Inquiry into the credit and veracity of a pretended complete history . . . , together with some memoirs occasionally inserted*, 1740, pp. 66-7.

government entirely lost the initiative. 'Let the Lord Treasurer cry as loud as he pleases against Popery, and think to put himself at the head of the Plot, I will cry a note louder and soon take his place,' Shaftesbury is said to have declared,⁸ and certainly he played a major part in the Parliamentary committees of enquiry, and in the anti-Catholic measures which were then proposed.⁹ In the City, the excitement of the Plot was kept going by intensified propaganda. Godfrey's funeral was turned into a mass demonstration, and the Tory Sir Robert Southwell indignantly noted how trade was at a standstill this year, because every merchant was 'so intent upon matters of state'. On 5 November he reported that 'there were several very chargeable and costly Popes went to wrack, and I hear that there will be great solemnities in the City on the birthday of Queen Elizabeth'.¹⁰

It was at this time that the Green Ribbon Club proved its worth, and in the following years, 1679-81, we have definite evidence that it organized the Pope-burning processions, which now assumed huge proportions. The club is not without its historian, Sir George Sitwell, who in 1894 wrote a book about his ancestor Sacheverell Sitwell called *The First Whig*, though Shaftesbury is surely a better claimant for this title. The book was privately printed and is extremely rare, but it deserves recognition as the only sustained study of the Green Ribbon Club and its Pope-burning processions, however inadequate it may be.¹¹ The author drew his information from only a few sources, most of them Tory. Roger North, his main authority, was a particularly hostile observer. North, however, gives us a picture of the club which is probably substantially correct: how the members would appear on the balcony of the King's Head Tavern and harangue the crowd below; how Parliamentary tactics were discussed and speeches rehearsed; and how petitions were drawn up and processions planned. Pamphleteers said much the same: one declared, in *A Seasonable Address to Both Houses of Parliament*, 1681, that 'We do daily see others run into clubs and cabals, distinguishing themselves by green ribbons, by general committees and sub-committees, where all transactions of Parliament are first designed and hammered, collections made, a common purse managed, and agents employed in every county, to prepare and influence the people, write and disperse false news, libels against the government,' etc. In 1683 one of the first biographers of Shaftesbury, in his *Memoirs of the*

⁸ J. S. Clarke, *The Life of James II*, 1816, i. 546.

⁹ Some of these are extraordinary for showing the degree of fear which the Papists inspired: returns were made of all Papists in London; they were to be forbidden to exercise certain trades, namely those of gunsmith, armourer, swordcutter, bookseller and printer; the House of Lords even discussed freeing the City and all parts adjacent from Popish inhabitants. See Historical Manuscripts Commission, 11th Rep. Appendix II: *House of Lords MSS. 1678-88*, passim.

¹⁰ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Ormonde N.S. IV*, pp. 472-3. Sir Robert Southwell, in his newsletters to the Duke of Ormonde, includes many valuable details about movements and opinions of the London populace, though he clearly disapproves of 'faction' and the more extreme activities of the Whigs.

¹¹ See J. R. Jones, 'The Green Ribbon Club', *Durham University Journal*, Vol. XLIX, December 1956.

Life of Anthony, Late Earl of Shaftesbury, describes the close connection between Thanet House and the club: 'there was the constant rendezvous of the basket-hilted old Oliverian officers, who had lost their Crown and Church lands; there all those mischiefs were contrived which have given the government and the nation so much trouble; thither the Green Ribbon Club and their foreman Sir R. P. [Sir Robert Peyton] used to repair constantly to take their measures for what was to be done in the Commons' House.'

Without doubt the main aim of the club now was to further the Protestant cause and help to pass the Exclusion Bill, whereby James Duke of York would be excluded from succession to the throne, while their own candidate, the king's bastard son, the Duke of Monmouth, would in due course be declared Charles' heir. The task was tremendous: not only Parliament but the nation had to be persuaded that an Exclusion Bill would be valid, and that Monmouth was the proper heir. It is a measure of Shaftesbury's greatness that he succeeded in completely winning over the City, and very nearly succeeded in Parliament as well. When the second Exclusion Bill was passed by the Commons, it was taken to the Lords accompanied by an unparliamentary but hopeful procession of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City, while bonfires were lit all over the town, and Sir Robert Southwell reported that healths were drunk 'to the king, the Duke of Monmouth, and the Earl of Shaftesbury, as the only three pillars of all safety'. The City was in a dangerous mood, he said: 'so tuned and united is this great engine at present that I do more than fear, if addresses from the Commons will not move the Lords to the expediting of the Bill, they will hear of addresses from another place'.¹² There followed the famous debate in the Lords, when Shaftesbury was balked of victory only by the supreme efforts of Halifax.

This marks the climax of the Exclusion campaign: it had been speeded on its way by a Pope-burning procession of unprecedented size in 1679. Among the manuscripts of Pepys is a journal of the Green Ribbon Club, copied by him from the original which King Charles had lent him.¹³ For 1 November 1679, there is this illuminating entry: 'Resolved, that it is the opinion of this club that a Pope shall be burnt according to custom, the 17th of this instant November, being the day observed for the honouring of the famous Protestant Queen, Queen Elizabeth; and ordered that the preparation of this matter be referred to a committee of five of this Society.' Probably with them was the writer and dramatist Elkanah Settle, who, according to his biographer, was engaged specially by Shaftesbury to organize the procession.¹⁴ Among several descriptions of this procession perhaps the best is in *London's Defiance to Rome*, 1679: 'On the said 17th of November the bells

¹² Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Ormonde N.S. IV*, pp. 473-4.

¹³ Pepys MS. 2875, pp. 465-91. I am obliged to Dr. R. W. Ladborough, Pepys Librarian, Magdalene College, Cambridge, for furnishing me with a microfilm of this MS.

¹⁴ F. C. Brown, *Elkanah Settle: His Life and Works*, 1910, p. 21.

generally about the town began to ring at three o'clock in the morning. At the approach of the evening, all things being in readiness, the solemn procession began, setting forth from Moorgate, and so passed first to Aldgate, and thence through Leadenhall Street, by the Royal Exchange through Cheapside, and so to Temple Bar, in the ensuing order': the following are then listed:

(1) Came six whistlers, to clear the way, in pioneers' caps and red waistcoats.

(2) A bellman ringing, and with a loud (but dolesome) voice, crying out all the way 'Remember Justice Godfrey!'

(3) A dead body born before a Jesuit on horseback, representing Godfrey.

(4) A priest giving pardons to all who would murder Protestants, 'proclaiming it meritorious'.

(5) A priest with a silver cross.

(6) Four Carmelites.

(7) Four Grey Friars.

(8) Six Jesuits with bloody daggers.

(9) A concert of wind-music.

(10) Four bishops in purple and lawn sleeves.

(11) Four other bishops, *in pontificalibus*, with surplices, and rich embroidered copes, and golden mitres on their heads.

(12) Six Cardinals in scarlet robes and caps.

(13) 'The Pope's doctor, i.e. Wakeman.' [The Queen's physician, said to be implicated in the Plot.]

(14) Two priests.

(15) The Pope, in a chair of state, accompanied by the Devil, telling the Pope to destroy the king, to forge a Protestant plot, [the Meal-Tub Plot, engineered by the Catholics the previous month] and to fire the City again. [The Fire of London was by this time attributed to Papists, and the plaque at the base of the Monument, inscribed in 1681, still testifies to this effect.]

'The whole procession was attended with one hundred and fifty flambeaus and lights, by order; but so many more came in volunteers, as made up some thousands.'¹⁵ It is claimed, no doubt exaggeratedly, that two hundred thousand spectators were present. Another account tells us that a wax image of Queen Elizabeth was carried in the procession. The impression conveyed is one of considerable planning and expense: Sitwell, again relying on a Tory writer, says Shaftesbury headed the list of subscribers, and Narcissus Luttrell in his diary estimated that the Pope cost over a hundred pounds.¹⁶ The procession

¹⁵ D. Ogg, in *his England in the Reign of Charles II*, 1956, ii. 595-6, quotes a less full but very similar account.

¹⁶ Sir George Sitwell, *The First Whig. An Account of the Parliamentary career of William Sacheverell, the origin of the two great political parties, and the events which led up to the Revolution of 1688*, Scarborough, privately printed, 1894, p. 101. Also N. Luttrell, *Brief Relations of State Affairs*, 1857, i. 29. Luttrell's observations of London scenes have the ring of authenticity although factually he is unreliable.

evidently afforded the opportunity to incinerate the club's personal enemies as well: in 1679 Sir Robert Peyton had been dismissed from the club as a turncoat, and Charles Hatton describes how both Sir Robert and the Pope were 'burnt together in effigy near Temple Bar, where Sir Robert's club was kept; but they of the club have contributed ten pounds apiece for his effigy to be burnt, which will cost a hundred pounds'.¹⁷

By November 1680, the Exclusion campaign had reached new heights: the Plot was still being exploited, and the second Exclusion Bill had just been defeated in the House of Lords on 15 November. This was quickly followed by the retaliation of the Commons in trying to impeach Chief Justice Scroggs, who had acquitted Wakeman of guilt in the Plot, and Chief Justice North; and they were successful in the impeachment of the feeble and elderly Viscount Stafford, quite incongruously imprisoned in the Tower as one of the dangerous Popish lords. In the midst of all this, a Pope was burnt in a procession of even greater elaboration. This year the Green Ribbon Club appointed a committee of seven to prepare it, including some of Shaftesbury's political agents; they borrowed Sir William Waller's priest's vestments which he used in his priest-hunting, and for some time before the seventeenth, a collection was made in the club every night.¹⁸ The pamphlet entitled *A Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope, November 17th, 1680* describes this procession in detail, with some excellent illustrations.¹⁹

The first part was the same as last year's, with whistlers to clear the way, a man ringing a bell crying 'Remember Justice Godfrey', and then a murderer carrying Godfrey's body on horseback. Next came a new feature, the 'Protestants in Masquerade', shouting 'We Protestants in masquerade usher in Popery'. It was commonly thought that many of the Court party were Catholics in disguise. Then came the 'pageants' or tableaux, which appear to have been platforms carried on the shoulders of a number of men, on which some scene was enacted. Clearly they were the prototype of the 'floats' in a modern carnival procession. First came Madame Cellier producing a 'Sham Plot' out of a meal-tub; 'an abhorrer of petitions in Parliaments' rode next, facing the tail of his horse. This, of course, is a reference to the petitioning campaign of the Whigs urging Charles to summon a Parliament in the summer of 1680; a campaign which the Court party countered with addresses of 'abhorrence' of these petitions. Two pageants of friars and monks followed, then one of Jesuits brandishing daggers, followed by bishops, archbishops and cardinals. An officer of the Pope distributed pardons for money. Finally the Pope appeared, with his foot on the Emperor Frederick, and accompanied by a mistress. The pageant bringing up the rear was an Inquisition scene. From the illustrations there appear to have been at least seventy-five people in the procession.

¹⁷ Hatton, *op. cit.*, i. 203.

¹⁸ Pepys MS. 2875 pp. 484-5.

¹⁹ Sitwell reproduces some of these in *The First Whig*.

The route was from St. George's Yard, by Whitechapel Bar, Aldgate, Leadenhall Street, Fleet Street, and so to Temple Bar, where the statue of Queen Elizabeth in one of the niches was adorned with a laurel wreath and a shield depicting the Protestant religion and Magna Carta. The Pope was burnt, and 'a great store of wine and other liquors was profusely poured out to the multitude, who unanimously of their own accord cried "No Popery: God bless the King, the Protestant religion, the Church, and the dissenting Protestants, whom God unite."' Another account says that an effigy of the Duke of York was also burnt. In Scotland, just over a month later, a Pope was burnt, by the students of Edinburgh, on Christmas Day.²⁰

This was the climax of the campaign. The year 1681 saw the utter defeat and rout of the Whigs: there followed the 'Tory reaction', when it looked as if the Whig party was destroyed, never to rise again. Shaftesbury was sent to the Tower on a charge of high treason in July, and the Popish Plot was exposed as a fraud by the triumphant government. Yet the City remained a stronghold of Whiggism: in November 1681, a jury of its citizens was to acquit Shaftesbury by their *ignoramus* verdict, and before this there was a Pope-burning procession which is described by a pamphleteer as bigger than ever. Roger North was an eye-witness of this procession, and remarks on the mysterious 'gentleman of quality' riding in it, who was probably meant to represent the Duke of York. He tells how Queen Elizabeth's statue was adorned with a shield and spear, but he could not get near enough to read the inscription on the shield. Another witness wrote that the Pope was drawn on a sledge by four horses: evidently the organizers did not feel in any way constrained this year.²¹ We learn that on 5 November, before Shaftesbury's trial, 'several little Popes were burnt', as well as on the great day just described, while demonstrations went on until December, when a Pope was burnt in Smithfield in the presence of the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Grey (one of the leading Whig peers) and the mob drank healths to the King and Monmouth 'conjunctively'.²² One may wonder why the government, now in a strong position, did not prevent these processions from taking place, but the City authorities, whose duty it was to keep public order, were still Whigs, and it was not until 1682 that they were replaced by compliant Tories. The only hint that the Tories were now retaliating by the same sort of propaganda appears in *A Dialogue upon the Burning of the Pope and Presbyter in Effigy at Westminster, November 5th, 1681*, which, besides a Pope-burning, refers to a rival procession in which a 'Presbyter' was burnt, it being a common Tory accusation that the Whigs were all Presbyterians.

²⁰ Sitwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-18, and *A Scot's Demonstration of their Abhorrence of Popery*, 1680. The occurrence of Pope-burning processions in Edinburgh may be another piece of evidence pointing to a liaison between the Scottish Whigs and Shaftesbury's party.

²¹ North, *op. cit.*, pp. 577-8, and *The Procession, or the Burning of the Pope in Effigy*, 1681.

²² Historical Manuscripts Commission, 10th Rep. Appendix IV, *Throckmorton MSS.* p. 174.

In 1682 the last stronghold of the Whigs, the City corporation, was overthrown, and with it went the whole machinery of Whig propaganda: the Green Ribbon Club ceased to function, the authors of pamphlets ceased to publish, the mob no longer gathered to see Whig demonstrations. For Shaftesbury it meant ruin, and as soon as the new Tory sheriffs took office he left Thanet House in fear of his life and went into hiding in the City which only a short time before he had triumphantly led. From here he urged Monmouth to raise a revolt, but Monmouth was too closely watched, and in vain did Shaftesbury speak of his 'ten thousand brisk boys' from Wapping who would take up arms once the insurrection was started.²³ It is possible that a Pope-burning procession planned for November was intended to be the signal for a rising, but this year it did not take place: Charles banned it by order in Council, and the Tory magistrates made sure the order was obeyed. North reports that they found half-made effigies hidden away in preparation for the day.²⁴ Two days later Shaftesbury fled to Holland, to die an exile soon afterwards. Though Queen Elizabeth's day continued to be celebrated, Sitwell can find only one or two isolated examples of Pope-burning in later years: one after the acquittal of the seven bishops, and one or two to herald the 1688 Revolution in London and Edinburgh; he claims that the last example occurred in 1747. The fact that the annual burning of Guy Fawkes continued while Pope-burning did not, emphasizes the character of the latter as a mass demonstration fostered by a party for political purposes. In the mobilizing of public opinion and the rousing of mass hysteria the Pope-burning processions form a remarkable object-lesson, and as a sidelight on the Exclusion campaign and the Popish Plot they offer an insight into the psychology of seventeenth-century politics.

²³ W. D. Christie, *Life of Shaftesbury*, 1871, gives a good account of Shaftesbury's last days, ii. 445 ff.

²⁴ North, *op. cit.*, pp. 579-80.

HISTORY BOOKS FOR SCHOOLS: VI

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BOOKS FROM AMERICA are in some respects the most interesting of recent publications. Selections of documents illustrating particular problems are much favoured for use in American universities, and the problems chosen exemplify to some degree the trans-Atlantic trend towards 'cultural history'. One of the more spacious of these series is 'Select Problems in Historical Interpretation' published by Henry Holt. Those here reviewed are less ambitious. The booklets called *Source Problems in World Civilization*¹ include Calvinism, Darwinism, China's Cultural Tradition, and Soviet Economic Progress; on each theme a specific question is posed. The two most recently published are *Renaissance Italy: Was it the Birthplace of the Modern World?* and *America and the Middle East: Open Door Imperialism or Enlightened Leadership?* Each is provided by its editor with an introduction, a conclusion and a bibliography. The quotations, though brief, are objectively chosen. Provided that the student, perhaps using these selections for his first exercise in reading sources, does not think that he has material for a final judgement, or even for a valid opinion, they may be enlightening and stimulating. In *Renaissance Italy* there are sections portraying the businessmen, the statesmen, the clergy, the humanists and the artists. This descriptive treatment tends to give the impression of an Italy suddenly teeming with new ideas and presenting entirely new attitudes; through the brevity of the excerpts and the absence of analysis the evolutionary factor is obscured and the problem over-simplified. *America and the Middle East* runs from Jefferson's report of 1789 on Mediterranean trade, through the first American projects of development in the Middle East, to the Young Turk revolution of 1908, thus illustrating 'the origins of American involvement'. Diplomatic and business reports and State Department documents exhibit the difficulties and uncertainties of American policy since 1919, beset by the conflicting claims of concern for oil, rivalry with other powers, Zionism and American idealism. While this documentary survey should obviously have a special value in the United States, it will be useful here for the light it throws on American policy.

Like the *Source Problems*, the *Problems in European Civilization*² are well

¹ *Source Problems in World Civilization*. Gene A. Brucker: *Renaissance Italy: Was it the Birthplace of the Modern World?* 57 pp. 75c. William Appleman Williams: *America and the Middle East: Open Door Imperialism or Enlightened Leadership*, 58 pp., 75c. Rinehart & Co., New York, 1958.

² *Problems in European Civilization*. Alfred F. Havighurst: *The Pirenne Thesis*, 109 pp. Philip A. M. Taylor: *The Industrial Revolution in Britain*, 90 pp. Ralph W. Greenlaw: *The Economic Origins of the French Revolution*, 95 pp. Dwight E. Lee: *The Outbreak of the First World War*, 74 pp. D. C. Heath and Co., Boston; Harrap, London, 1958. 9s. 6d. each.

printed, in double columns, bound in paper covers, and inexpensive by American standards. These contain not source extracts but excerpts from the writings of historians of several nationalities expounding differing views of a problem. There is in each an introduction to the historiography of the problem, a chronological table and suggestions for further reading. The suspended fate of Pirenne's attempt to supplant the barbarian by the Moslem invasions as the agent of Rome's downfall, the question whether the Revolution in France arose from the drive of a rising middle class or the sufferings of a harassed peasantry, the nature and magnitude of the changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution in Britain, and the responsibility for the First World War are inviting subjects for this kind of treatment, and the publishers will no doubt find others. The teacher, unless he be exceptionally well read, will find them useful. They should also be of value to the good Sixth Form student; by lifting the curtain on academic battles they allow him to experience some of the intellectual excitement of history; he will learn how well-established views must be modified in the light of newly-discovered facts and will see how history advances. To the weaker pupil the varied interpretations would cause bewilderment; to the boy or girl with university ambitions they should prove an excellent stimulus.

Revolution and Reaction, 1848-1852,³ is a short account of the mid-century revolutions in Europe. From a scholar of such repute as Dr. Bruun it is rather disappointing. It gives a clear and straightforward account of events, country by country, and adds a very brief analysis in which industrial and social factors are over-stressed. When the revolutions of 1848 are described in general as 'the first major social upheaval after the development of the factory system', the chronology is surprising, and it is surely misleading to say that 'the middle classes found themselves on the Right'. Only in France, in fact, were 'the embattled proletarians' much in evidence, and it is therefore misleading to say that 'the pattern set in France was repeated with variations in neighbouring countries'; the differences rather than the similarities should be stressed. Otherwise no new views appear and no questions are raised. The documents occupy the same space as the text and are of some interest, but they give no support to these dubious interpretations.

Gould and Thompson's *A Scottish History for Today*⁴ is Book II of a series of three for secondary schools, and deals with Scottish history from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the present day. 'The authors have endeavoured to write simply', and in place of 'tedious political and dynastic information . . . have tried to give some account of the great events outside Scotland which have influenced the growth of the nation'. Generally they have achieved these aims. The three sections of their book are devoted to Scottish and general history—well balanced—from 1603 to 1815, to the economic and social history of modern times, with Scottish examples, and to recent world history. Only in the last section has the effort of compression produced a scrappy result. There is a chapter on the British Empire in 1914 which in some 1500 words attempts historical sketches of five regions of the Empire. On the other hand the two world wars and recent international

³ Geoffrey Bruun: *Revolution and Reaction, 1848-1852*. Van Nostrand Co., Princeton and London. 1958. 191 pp. 8s. 6d.

⁴ Ian Gould and John Thompson: *A Scottish History for Today*. John Murray. 1958. 239 pp. 8s.

politics receive generous attention. The political history of the nineteenth century in Britain and Europe is entirely neglected—an omission presumably to be remedied in Book III. The authors took the precaution of submitting their manuscript to Roman Catholic clergy and to Presbyterian ministers; their discussion of religious matters remains surprisingly interesting. They give a wrong impression in saying that today members of the government need not be members of Parliament; practically and by convention they must be. And what is one to think of a recommendation of the works of the Baroness Orczy as reading on the French Revolution! There are exercises at the end of each chapter and some good photographs and drawings.

World Affairs since 1919,⁵ by Peter Wales, is designed mainly for candidates studying this period for Ordinary Level examinations, but is intended also for adult classes and the general reader. It opens with a chapter on the peace settlement of 1919–20 and closes with a narrative of the Second World War and an account of international relations from 1945 to 1953. The other chapters are on Russia, the United States, the Fascist Powers, Britain and the Commonwealth, and France. This arrangement facilitates an analysis of conditions within each country—Communist and Fascist ideologies are carefully expounded—but issues of general importance in world affairs are neglected. Population trends appear only in a map; the effect of recent inventions on strategy is not mentioned. There is failure also to elucidate particular problems: the Korean War is described as giving a lesson to the Communist world, but there is no hint of its profound effects on American opinion and policy. The abdication crisis in Britain gets more space than the achievement of independence by India. The book bears no evidence of thinking on world problems and is unlikely to provoke it. There must be reservations even about the book's more limited uses, for it is marred throughout by varied signs of careless proof-reading and by slovenly English, of which the first sentence provides an example. Confusion may arise from describing Wilson as 'the Democratic Party President' and Sun Yat Sen as 'a western educated Chinese' (without the hyphen). 'Lease-lend' is also printed without its hyphen and is not explained. The Security Council is the United Nations' 'watch-dog on peace'; 'a rapid build-up' of strength was 'unleashed' on Japan; Eoka 'was receiving a great deal of help from Archbishop Makarios'; and 'it appeared likely that Pakistan would join India and also become a Republic'. There are enough errors of this kind to deprive the book of any chance of a recommendation.

Three veteran volumes reappear. A. J. Grant's *Outline of European History*,⁶ first published in 1907, reaches a fifth edition revised by D. P. J. Fink, who has re-written the chapter on the First World War and added a final chapter on the years 1945–57. There has been no extensive revision, however, and the general flavour of the book is very much that of 1907 rather than of 1957. There has been no attempt to assimilate recent research. Russia, in these pages, did not exist before Peter the Great; the scientific revolution never happened. The Editor excuses himself too easily when he says in his preface, 'The emphasis is on politics, but this calls for no apology in these days when our freedom to live useful lives in peace and quiet so clearly

⁵ Peter Wales: *World Affairs since 1919*. Methuen. 1958. 190 pp. 11s. 6d.

⁶ A. J. Grant: *Outlines of European History*. 5th edition revised by D. P. J. Fink. Longmans. 1958. 509 pp. 15s.

depends on humane, moral, and skilful government.' Unfortunately it depends also on several factors whose evolution in the history of Europe receives scant attention in this book. It must be admitted, however, that the writing of a one-volume history of Europe is a formidable task. This book is sound within its narrow limits; it is clear, well proportioned and well written. It will mislead the student only by its omissions, and may serve a purpose until the task is attempted anew. It cannot be achieved satisfactorily on these foundations. There is also a new edition of R. M. Rayner's *A Concise History of Modern Europe, 1789-1914*.⁷ This has not been revised at all; there is merely an epilogue for the period 1914-55 written by A. D. Ellis. The book appears to have been published originally in 1934—the publishers have withheld precise information—and it is in need of revision. For example, the part played by nationalism in the overthrow of Napoleon is much exaggerated. It is a pity the faults have not been corrected, for the book has merits: it is workmanlike and well written with interesting detail. The treatment is fairly full for a book intended for use at Ordinary Level, and in the notes appended to chapters there is useful additional material. The Epilogue is much less generously planned and gives only a bald account of the recent period. It is somewhat inaccurate: 1955 is twice given as the date of Stalin's death and the Washington Naval Disarmament Conference is wrongly dated as 1920. C. D. M. Ketelbey's *A History of Modern Times*⁸ has, on the other hand, been completely revised. Its 700 pages cover the period from 1789 to 1950, the new section from 1939 being excellently done. The text is admirably written and not sparing of detail. Even so further points appear in liberally scattered footnotes, and there are numerous maps. The importance of events beyond Europe has been handsomely recognized—there are chapters on the expansion of Europe, the Far East and the U.S.A. which give a full and interesting treatment. Disappointments are rare—one is the bare and uncritical mention of the work of the Prussian reformers. The book could be criticized on points of interpretation, but when the author disarmingly confesses that in every sentence she is exposed to the criticism of the specialist she is too modest. This book will meet the needs of sixth-form students for some time to come.

The First World War,⁹ by Arthur H. Booth, and *Nelson*,¹⁰ by Richard Houghton, are two of Frederick Muller's 'True Books', meant for a wide public and not particularly for schools. *The First World War* is written from the British point of view, and is not free from jingoism. It over-simplifies and over-dramatizes the story, but has sufficient narrative and descriptive quality to make it a good popular account. *Nelson* appears to follow closely a well-known biography, vulgarized by such interpolations as '(Picture his racing brain estimating chances!)'. The book has no merits.

Two new volumes of Methuen's 'Outlines' are excellent. *Exploring Australia*¹¹ has an admirably written text by Eve Pownall and an ample provision of clear maps to illustrate the progressive discovery of the continent,

⁷ R. M. Rayner: *A Concise History of Modern Europe, 1789-1914*, with an epilogue 1914-1955; additional chapters by A. D. Ellis. Longmans. New edition 1958. 425 pp. 14s.

⁸ C. D. M. Ketelbey: *A History of Modern Times from 1789*. 3rd edition substantially revised. Harrap. 1958. 699 pp. 25s.

⁹ Arthur H. Booth: *The First World War*. Muller. 1958. 144 pp. 8s. 6d.

¹⁰ Richard Houghton: *Nelson*. Muller. 1958. 139 pp. 8s. 6d.

¹¹ Eve Pownall: *Exploring Australia*. Methuen. 1958. 74 pp. 10s. 6d.

first its outline and then its interior. The story is told with a thoroughness and amount of detail that could seem repetitive. All the explorers of the interior had to contend with hostile aborigines and with thirst. Nearly all parties had to kill their horses for food, and struggled through, if at all, at an extremity of exhaustion. Yet the narrative is so well done that excitement triumphs. There are very good drawings. This book is essential for the secondary or grammar school library, and many children would be glad to possess it. R. R. Sellman's *Prehistoric Britain*¹² is equally good of its kind. The successive cultures, palæolithic and neolithic, are described with scholarly accuracy and with clarity. Mr. Sellman is perhaps happiest in technical description, but then archæology is a highly technical subject. He betrays an interest in social anthropology, and drops enough hints on the theme to interest his readers. His line drawings and maps are beautifully clear; for atmosphere there are more imaginative drawings by another hand. The book requires concentration, as must any account of this subject that is worth while. For the attentive reader there could hardly be a better introduction.

Three booklets in Longmans' 'Then and There' series exemplify the 'patch' method. R. J. Mitchell chooses subjects that readers of eleven to thirteen will find congenial—*The Medieval Tournament*¹³ and *The Medieval Feast*.¹⁴ There is ample detail, with explanation nicely adjusted to the requirements of juniors; the illustrations are clear and retain something of the character of their originals. *Roman Britain*,¹⁵ by Joan Liversidge, is only dubiously a 'patch' and differs from most in this series in attempting to cover all aspects of life in the period, so that though twice as long as the others, it is less satisfying. It has one or two rather bad errors in English. However, descriptions and drawings are usually clear and accurate, and in eighty pages it gives a much more full and interesting account than is possible in an outline text-book. In all these books the more unusual words are printed in italics and explained in a glossary at the end, where there are also useful brief notes on 'How we Know' and 'What to Do'.

A. and C. Black are producing a new series of 'Junior Reference Books', edited by R. J. Unstead, who has himself written *A History of Houses*¹⁶ and *Travel by Road*.¹⁷ A third, *The Story of Aircraft*,¹⁸ is by R. J. Hoare. These are lavishly illustrated by drawings interspersed with the text, at the rate of something over two to a page, and they succeed with those aspects which can be illustrated. The text in fact becomes a mere commentary on the pictures, and with sentence and paragraph often equated there is not much solid reading. Such matters as the development of styles, or the relation of the topic to the general history of the period, therefore, receive scant attention. *The Story of Aircraft* is not very satisfactory. It is packed with facts of

¹² R. R. Sellman: *Prehistoric Britain*. Methuen. 1958. 62 pp. 10s. 6d.

¹³ R. J. Mitchell: *The Medieval Tournament*. 44 pp. 2s. Longmans' 'Then and There' Series. 1958.

¹⁴ R. J. Mitchell: *The Medieval Feast*. 44 pp. 2s. Longmans' 'Then and There' Series. 1958.

¹⁵ Joan Liversidge: *Roman Britain*. 90 pp. 3s. Longmans' 'Then and There' Series. 1958.

¹⁶ R. J. Unstead: *A History of Houses*. 80 pp. School Edition 7s. 6d. General edition 8s. 6d. A. and C. Black's Junior Reference Books. 1958.

¹⁷ R. J. Unstead: *Travel by Road*. 64 pp. School edition 7s. 6d. General edition 8s. 6d. A. and C. Black's Junior Reference Books. 1958.

¹⁸ R. J. Hoare: *The Story of Aircraft*. 80 pp. School edition 8s. 6d. General edition 9s. 6d. A. and C. Black's Junior Reference Books. 1958.

interest to the enthusiast, but the text is disconnected, and the drawings that show the exploits or disasters of the pioneers of flight tend to monotony. Each book has an index, but no suggestions for activity by the pupil, and the real usefulness of the series would seem to be limited to reference. *Roads*,¹⁹ one of Macmillan's 'Picture Pageant' books, in a paper cover, is slight in historical material, but gives some attention to modern road problems. Chatto and Windus have published the first two parts of 'a history of family life'²⁰ intended for the second year of the junior school. These contain snippets of social history conveyed mainly by drawings, some of which are coloured. One must make allowances for a book which advances in a few pages from prehistoric monsters to lake villages by way of the ancient civilizations, but one doubts whether even an eight-year-old should be switched in rapid succession from Skara Brae to ancient Egypt, or be faced with an Athenian toy-shop and a dug-out canoe on the same page, being assisted to find his whereabouts only by a vague pictorial time-chart at the back of the book.

Finally, there are three books produced by enthusiasts for local history. No. 30 of the Essex Record Office publications is *Essex Homes, 1066-1850*.²¹ Designed partly as a souvenir of the exhibition held at Ingatestone Hall, it comprises mainly photographs of Essex houses of all periods, with informative notes and a brief introduction. It would make an inexpensive source of illustration for a course on the history of houses in England. The Eccles and District History Society has produced a handy summary of the geography and history of Lancashire in the form of twenty simple sketch-maps,²² e.g. Religious Houses, the Tudors, the Reformation, the Civil War, each to illustrate a few simple features and accompanied by notes on the facing page. The method is inevitably less satisfactory for recent periods, but it is generally successful. The enterprise merits popularity in Lancashire and emulation elsewhere. *The Land of the Three Rivers*²³ is an account of the history of the North-Eastern region of England, well written and handsomely produced. It is perhaps unusual among text-books in being sponsored by the North-East Industrial and Development Association. Its three parts treat of the history of the region before 1485, of the period 1485-1918, and of the years since 1918, where the material is entirely economic, and is in fact descriptive geography rather than history. The account of the historical background, which is found mainly in the first section, is highly compressed and so somewhat dry, though there is frequent citation of local instances. Once the authors are launched on economic matters, a third of the way through the book, they concentrate entirely on the land of Tyne, Wear and Tees and provide plenty of interesting detail, including description of the techniques of tree-planting and trawling, turbine propulsion and town-planning. It is a little misleading to describe their volume as a history, but it is an attractive account of the region, interesting to an outsider and more so, presumably, to

¹⁹ J. C. Uncles: *Roads*. 58 pp. 3s. 6d. Macmillan—'Picture Pageant.' 1958.

²⁰ Mary Schroeder: *Family Tree*. Part One: *The First Families*. 32 pp. 3s. Part Two: *Families Nearer Home*. 32 pp. 3s. Chatto and Windus—A History Course, Book II. 1958.

²¹ *Essex Homes, 1066-1850*. Essex Record Office Publications, No. 50. 1958. 32 pp. 2s. 6d.

²² F. R. Johnston: *Lancashire Sketch Maps*. Eccles and District History Society. 1958. 45 pp. 1s. 9d.

²³ Helen G. Bowling: *The Land of the Three Rivers*. Macmillan. 1958. 308 pp. 12s. 6d.

an inhabitant. The illustrations are effective and the index ample, and the suggested exercises are stimulating.

The filmstrip *Life in Ancient America*²⁴ in colour is an excellent introduction to the early American civilizations. The first frames establish clearly a few points about the chronology and main conditions; separate sections illustrate by photographs and drawings aspects of the Maya, Aztec and Inca cultures. The selection is admirably calculated to stimulate the interest of children; it creates an impression of things exotic but real. *The Curies and Radium*²⁵ is much less successful. The strip is mainly made up of photographs from the family album interspersed with diagrams to demonstrate the structure of the atom. By contrast with the aridity of the filmstrip itself, the teaching notes are full and interesting on the life of Marie Curie.

²⁴ Marie Neurath and the Isotype Institute: *Life in Ancient America* (in colour). Common Ground 1B 780. 27s. 6d. 'The Ancient World' series.

²⁵ J. A. Lauwerys: *The Curies and Radium*. Common Ground CGB 719. 12s. 6d. 'Lives of Famous Men and Women' series.

EDITORIAL NOTES

THERE USED TO BE MUCH TALK about the historical method or discipline. This piece of professional jargon has now fallen out of favour, which is a good thing, because not being susceptible of any meaning it gave the impression that history was a sort of esoteric cult not capable of being explained to the vulgar. It is therefore welcome to find Mr. G. Kitson Clark, in the first paragraph of his *Guide for Research Students working on Historical Subjects* (Cambridge University Press. 1958. 56 pp. 5s. 6d.), stating that 'the general rules to be observed are largely the rules of common sense'. This does not mean that his pamphlet is unnecessary. On the contrary, every beginner in historical research should study it and carefully mark what it has to say. The most brilliant will find some points—even quite elementary ones—that his native genius has not revealed to him; while the more conscientious the supervisor, the more time he will be saved by the existence of the *Guide*. It is probably too much to hope that the writers of the kind of semi-history which is now so popular will read it; but if they did their works might be rather more historical, or they might be frightened off altogether from the writing of history. Either result would be an improvement.

As well as providing useful practical advice, Mr. Kitson Clark gives some by no means superfluous warnings. He points out that the main reason for doing historical research at all is the hope of making a valuable addition to knowledge on a subject one believes to be important, and that a narrow approach is not likely to achieve this. He warns against the intellectual vanity which takes the form either of believing that it is a waste of time to read secondary works, or of the real waste of time in needless attacks on them. He wisely tells the research student that he will probably find the actual writing of his dissertation the hardest part of his work. A number of useful bibliographical appendices add to the value of this short and salutary pamphlet.

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The problem of finding sufficient space in this journal to review all the historical works that are sent to us is a serious one. It is becoming increasingly evident that a larger proportion of them will have to be put on the list of 'other books received', or dealt with in short notes. To guard against the danger of an accumulation of belated reviews, an extra 32 pages has been included in the present number and a large proportion of the whole journal given up to reviews. It is hoped that it will be possible to allow more space for articles in subsequent numbers—though not at the price of abandoning the policy of attempting to keep readers informed, by means of reviews, of new historical works over the whole historical field, at least in the English language. We receive and review also a fair proportion of French books, but

only a limited number in other languages. The absence of a review of an English historical work of some importance is to be explained in one of two ways. Occasionally such a book is not sent to *History* for review, and on principle we do not ask for particular books. In a few other cases repeated requests fail to extract a notice from the historian who has agreed to review it.

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The Annual Meeting of the Historical Association will be held at Norwich from Wednesday to Saturday, 1-4 April 1959.

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Many members will have heard with regret of the death of Mr. J. W. Herbert. Professor W. N. Medlicott writes, 'J. W. Herbert joined the Association soon after the first World War, and after writing a good thesis for the M.A. degree under the direction of Professor A. P. Newton became a school teacher in North London. He was a member of the Council of the Association from 1933 until his death in 1958. The gentlest and most self-effacing of men, he was always ready to give unobtrusive help behind the scenes, but in due course the value of a real organizing gift and a kindly, serene temper were recognized, and he was called on to play an increasingly prominent part in the Association's affairs. He was Honorary Secretary of the Association from April 1946 to January 1950, a difficult and important period of post-war revival in which his tact and good judgment were very much in demand, and in which the lines were laid of the greatly expanded organization that we know today. He became a Vice-President in January 1950. All this time he was active in North London. He practically rebuilt the North London branch after becoming its secretary in 1932, and among the really notable features of his work was the splendid series of historical outings, sometimes very far afield, which he continued to organize down to 1957. After retiring from the branch secretaryship he was Hon. Treasurer of the branch until December 1957. His death at the age of 78 removes one of our few remaining links with the early days of the Association, and leaves happy memories of a most cheerful, benign, lovable personality.'

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New historical journals continue to appear. Attention may be drawn to *MEDIEVAL ARCHÆOLOGY*, published by the Society for Medieval Archaeology (details from the Secretary, c/o The British Museum, London, W.C.1). A regular feature will be an account of the progress of medieval field-work. From the United States, sponsored by the Society for French Historical Studies, comes *FRENCH HISTORICAL STUDIES* (edited by Marvin L. Brown, Jr., 112 Winston Hall, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, North Carolina), which is to be published in the first place annually.

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The Cambridge University Press asks us to state that *Charles Joseph la Trobe* (published by Melbourne University Press), reviewed in our number 149, pp. 257-8, is published by them in this country.

REVIEWS AND SHORT NOTICES

ANCIENT

ORDER AND HISTORY, Vol. I ISRAEL AND REVELATION, Vol. II THE WORLD OF THE POLIS, Vol. III PLATO AND ARISTOTLE. By Eric Voegelin. Louisiana State University Press: O.U.P. Vols. I-III respectively: 1956, 1957, 1958; 534, 390, 384 pp; 60s., 48s., 48s.

The author of this work, planned on the heroic scale of a Toynbee or Spengler, would not accept the 'philosophy of history' of either of these writers, and in matters of relative detail he specifically rejects, for instance, Toynbee's interpretation of Egyptian history. His book is a study of the philosophy and history of political order, of which it is clearly difficult to convey even the chief ideas in a short space. Briefly, Professor Voegelin, who is a political scientist, argues that the Near Eastern societies constituted themselves as analogues of the cosmic order, i.e. the political order was symbolized through analogy with the cosmic order. Faith in a divine-cosmic order, of which society was a part, continued throughout the rise and fall of the Mesopotamian empires and the repeated crises of imperial Egypt; although the contrast between the lasting of the cosmic and the passing of the social order was observed, it did not penetrate the soul so decisively as to lead to new insights into the true order of being and existence: political catastrophes continued to be understood as cosmic events decreed by the gods. But a new genus of society emerged with Israel, which by 'a leap in being' discovered transcendent being as the source of order in man and society: events in the social sphere were no longer experienced as part of the cosmic-divine order, but reflected the order of transcendent-divine reality. This philosophy of revelation is worked out especially in regard to the person and work of Moses and to the prophets' conception of true order in man, society and history. The second and third volumes, which deal with Greek culture, emphasize that the ultimate goals of human nature are constant and that the central problem of every society is the same, 'to create an order that will endow the fact of its existence with meaning in terms of ends, divine and human'. The falsehoods of the ancient symbolism of myth are modified by the mythic cycle associated with Hesiod, and in turn the pre-Socratics break with the Hesiodic speculations and prepare for the victory of the truth of philosophy over the truth of myth; and the author shows how 'the meaning of existence' received concrete expression in the political, social and religious institutions and in the poets and thinkers of Greece. The historical process represents 'attempts to find the symbolic forms that will adequately express the meaning of a society . . . the great societies have created a sequence of orders, intelligibly connected with one another as advances towards, or recessions from, an adequate symbolization of the truth concerning the order

of being of which the order of society is a part': thus each society, adventuring after truth, creates symbols (in its deeds and institutions) which reflect the meaning of its own existence, and history acquires a unity in the common effort towards meaning and order.

Voegelin has read widely and his work contains much that is useful and valuable for the general reader, e.g. his summary of recent historiographical work on the Old Testament, which is fully abreast of the theories of the Scandinavian school with its interest in sacral kingship and annual festivals. All students of political science and the history of ideas will find much to interest and to challenge them. Historians, however, may feel that Voegelin moves too exclusively in the realm of thought: what men thought about introducing order into society is clearly of primary importance, but what they did is not less interesting. In a work entitled 'Order and History', one might expect to find more description than is given of how in fact a city-state tried to express order both at home and over wider areas, e.g. the methods used in the Athenian empire in the Aegean in the fifth century or by the Chalcidian and Arcadian Leagues in the fourth (the latter attempts at federation receive only two or three pages). The absence of any discussion of Isocrates' views in the volume devoted to his contemporaries Plato and Aristotle, must presumably be due to a postponement of this topic to the following volume. Isocrates may not have been a profound political thinker, but he widely publicized his ideas for a better order in world history: thus such treatment deprives the reader of volume three of a balanced picture of the current of political ideas in the first part of the fourth century. Another weakness, in the present writer's view, is the sheer bulk of the work, which makes heavy reading at times (though in other places the author shows that he can write more attractively): the frequent use of ugly words and jargon is no help. The text might surely have been cut down and many detailed arguments have been relegated to appendixes: the main exposition would then have stood out with much greater clarity and force. In brief, one reader at any rate would have liked more order and more history. This is however an impressive work which contains much of great interest and value (not least the frequent quotation of original sources), and naturally much that is controversial.

King's College, London

H. H. SCULLARD

SICILY BEFORE THE GREEKS. By L. Bernabò Brea. London: Thames and Hudson. 1957. 258 pp., 78 photographs, 50 line drawings and 7 maps. £1 1s.

'If God had seen my beautiful Sicily', Frederic II is reputed to have said on his first sight of Palestine, 'He would never have chosen to be born here.' The rich and beautiful island, lying in the centre of the Mediterranean, has always been coveted, fought over and partitioned, a meeting and mixing place. In historical times Carthaginian, Greek and Roman, Vandal, Goth and Byzantine, Saracen and Norman, Swabian, Angevin and Spanish have disputed it; and in prehistory things seem to have been not much better. Professor Brea's little book presents a bewildering succession and co-existence of cultures from Palaeolithic times to the seventh century B.C. From the earliest come some very curious cave-drawings and paintings, from the latest some interesting metal-work; in between there are a few strange stone- and

bone-carvings; and there are remains of tombs and settlements; but the vast mass of material, from which the whole complex picture is built up, is the pottery. Shapes, patterns and techniques can often be linked with those of other regions of the Mediterranean, and so can indicate directions of trade, conquest or migration; and the work done in this field is impressive in its breadth and ingenuity. Prehistoric Sicily is a model of the value and the limitations of archæology in a wholly unhistorical field. Without it we should know nothing, and here we have a great deal of material evidence from which interesting facts and theories can be deduced; yet because we know nothing whatever of the peoples and persons involved beyond some of their material possessions and surroundings (with an occasional glimpse of disaster in a sacked settlement) they remain the faintest and coldest phantoms. Professor Brea is one of the leading excavators and experts in the area and writes from a wide and deep knowledge. One may doubt the publisher's claim that such a necessarily concentrated presentation of diffuse and mainly austere material will be 'fascinating to the interested layman', but the book will be invaluable to the scholar in this particular field and in any related ones.

University College, London

MARTIN ROBERTSON

ROMAN HISTORY FROM COINS. By Michael Grant. Cambridge University Press. 1958. 96 pp. 12s. 6d.

Professor Grant has provided here a short, easily understood book on the part played by coins in Roman history and archæology, for the general reader who need bring to it 'no knowledge of the ancient world or of coins'. Yet the more knowledge he does bring to it, the better reading it will be. For this is a neat book, planned like a labour-saving flat, packed with information, with 32 plates, maps on the endpapers and magnifications of coins on the cover. Some 269 coins are illustrated, slightly less than actual size, but excellently reproduced in a photogravure that will stand magnification.

The author's burden is that coins as well as literature need careful study for satisfactory history to emerge. He plunges at once into a world where coins are used as a medium of government propaganda, with Emperors 'like modern dictators' anxious to make their portraits well known. The reverses of the coins are 'crammed with news' of victories (actual or desired), reforms and programmes of public works. Augustus and Nero are dealt with in some detail to show the contrasting evidence of literature and coins, in both of which bias is evident. But later on in the chapter 'Approach to World Coinage' too much has been included to allow an adequate perspective to be obtained. Just occasionally Professor Grant oversteps the boundary between the certain and the conjectural, as when a coin of Cornelia Supera is said to be *decisively* attributable to Rome on account of style. It is, too, confusing to the historian to read of Cunobelin as *Rex Britanniarum* without precise reference when even Suetonius' *Rex Britanniae* can be shown, by coin circulation amongst other things, to be an over-statement. But this handy little volume will handsomely repay and stimulate any reader careful enough to make continual reference to the plates: for besides looking at known facts from a new angle he will learn *how* coins can be made to yield information, some of it confirming previous evidence but some entirely new.

St. Paul's School

P. D. WHITTING

Professor Stuart Piggott's *SCOTLAND BEFORE HISTORY* (Edinburgh: Nelson. 1958. 112 pp. 15s.) is modestly described as 'no more than a long essay divided into five parts . . . an attempt to present in non-technical language the story of human settlement and development in what is now Scotland from the earliest times to the Roman Occupation'. It is more than that. It is a masterly survey brilliantly conceived and attractively executed, a summary of up-to-date views illumined by shrewd guesses and plausible suggestions, a closely integrated design undisturbed by academic footnotes and references but based throughout on wide reading and wider experience. It succeeds (where longer and more complex studies might fail) in presenting to the reader a coherent sequence of development, each phase linked with the next and all set against the background of general prehistory and against the more immediate background of geography and topography. It even explains in simple terms the bases of archæological argument and the limitations of archæological evidence. It is, in short, a *tour de force*, and its artistic effect is heightened by Keith Henderson's excellent illustrations.

University of St. Andrews

F. T. WAINWRIGHT

THE CANONS OF THE COUNCIL OF SARDICA, A.D. 343; A LANDMARK IN THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF CANON LAW. By Hamilton Hess. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1958. 170 pp. 25s.

The importance of the council of Sardica for the student of early Church History arises from three main facts. First, it is the earliest of the numerous conciliar assemblies of the fourth and fifth centuries after Nicæa which was at least in intention representative of the entire Empire. That it failed to be representative and was in fact predominantly Western in its composition, as Nicæa itself had been overwhelmingly Eastern, was due almost wholly to the deliberate refusal of the Eastern representatives to collaborate with their Western colleagues. In addition, its proceedings are more fully documented than those of any earlier council. Secondly, the situation of which the council itself was a direct outcome, namely the refusal on the part of a considerable proportion of the episcopate in the eastern provinces to accept the doctrinal and disciplinary decisions of Nicæa as final, and the impasse resulting from the rejection of Athanasius by influential groups of bishops in the East and his acceptance at Rome, showed how ill-prepared the Church actually was to meet the possibility of dissension arising on such a scale in the changed environment in which it found itself in the years following the acquisition by Constantine of supreme power. Thirdly, since it is undeniable that some account must necessarily be given of the extent to which the famous 'Appeal Canons' of Sardica contributed towards the development of the Roman primacy, an accurate estimate of their contents and significance is an indispensable requisite to the ecclesiastical historian and not least to the modern apologist for the universal authority of the Roman See.

In fulfilling the task of supplying English readers with a full discussion of the many problems involved Mr. Hess has performed a valuable service. The topics included among the canons embrace such questions as the relation of bishops and other clergy to their local churches, with special reference to the legitimacy of translation; the authority of bishops within a province, and particularly of the metropolitan bishop, in connection with episcopal appointments; and finally the attempt to create a satisfactory court of appeal, with

power to review the verdicts of provincial synods in trials of bishops, and others. It is the group of canons specially concerned with this matter which raises the acute question whether in according certain rights of appeal to the Roman see, the Council did in fact enlarge its jurisdiction, or whether it only paid deference to a degree of authority which the Roman see already possessed. The author's handling of this and other matters is a model of objectivity and impartiality.

Two other features of the book call for special notice. The first is the author's careful re-examination of the relation of the Latin and Greek texts to one another. When authorities of the stature of Turner and Schwartz are agreed on the priority of the Latin text, it might seem rash to challenge their opinion. Mr. Hess however has done this, and he advances a persuasive case in favour of the two recensions having originated from two separate sets of procedural minutes. Secondly, the author seeks to elucidate the peculiar form of the canons by comparing the procedure of the council with that of the Senate, in which the successive stages of each enactment consisted of *relatio*, *sententie* and *consultum*. A similar relation is shown to exist between senatorial procedure and that of several African councils.

University of Exeter

TREVOR JALLAND

A PICTURE HISTORY OF ARCHEOLOGY (London: Thames and Hudson. 1958. 360 pp. 42s.) by C. W. Ceram is properly so called. It has 310 fascinating illustrations, with 16 colour plates, all excellently reproduced, and joined together by a well-written commentary, sketching in picturesque detail some of the episodes of archæological discovery. It should not be treated as a history of archæology.

Pierre Montet's EVERY DAY LIFE IN EGYPT IN THE DAY OF RAMESSES THE GREAT (London: E. Arnold. 1958. 365 pp. 35s.) translated, and in some respects supplemented, by A. R. Maxwell Hyslop and Margaret S. Drower, is a reliable and interesting work for the general reader. It would make a useful addition to a school library.

The services of Mr. O. G. S. Crawford to archæology were many and notable. In his last book, THE EYE GODDESS (London: Phoenix. 1957. 168 pp. 50s.), he traced the course of a primeval goddess of fertility from the Middle East to Brittany and Ireland, and supported his theory with a remarkable series of archæological illustrations.

MEDIEVAL

IN LATE ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL POPULATION (Philadelphia: Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. New Series, vol. 48, part 3, 1958. 152 pp. \$4) Professor J. C. Russell attempts to estimate the population of Europe and the Mediterranean lands between the fifth and sixteenth centuries. Undeterred by lack of evidence the author is determined to produce figures and uses the most questionable methods to do so. He calculates the population of towns by multiplying their area by an average density, despite the fact that his own tables show that the density of urban population varied enormously. He then proceeds to calculate the population of districts on the

hypothesis, for which he gives no evidence, that the population of a town is $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of that of the district of which it is the capital (however that is defined). Such arbitrary procedures cannot produce useful results. What is more, Professor Russell is too ready to jettison the few firm figures which exist if they do not accord with his ideas of what is probable. To take examples from the ancient world (where alone the reviewer is competent to judge the evidence), it is certain from a statement by Augustus in his *Res Gestæ* that in 5 B.C. there were 320,000 male citizens of humble degree domiciled in Rome: to these must be added women and girls, and the upper classes, aliens, and slaves. But on the basis of density per hectare Professor Russell declares that the total population must have been about 350,000. It is also certain from laws in the Theodosian Code that in the fifth century 120,000 male citizens of humble degree received rations of pork at Rome: despite which the total population of the city is estimated on general grounds of probability at about half this figure. Despite its profusion of tables this work must be written off as a serious contribution to knowledge.

Jesus College, Cambridge

A. H. M. JONES

MEDIEVAL CARTULARIES OF GREAT BRITAIN: A SHORT CATALOGUE. By G. R. C. Davis. London: Longmans. 1958. xxi + 182 pp. 30s.

This catalogue is an aid to research, mainly for the English medievalist—one of the most useful to appear in recent years. Behind it lies a mountain of work undertaken by a great number of people. In his preface, his acknowledgements and his introduction Dr. Davis lists his helpers and his predecessors, from Dugdale to Professor Holtzmann and a number of living English scholars who have covered a part of the ground now surveyed as a whole. 'More than a quarter of a century has elapsed since medievalists first began to discuss the making of this book', writes the author, and he modestly goes on to say that 'credit for its ultimate completion and publication is due mainly to the support that it has received from the large body of friends which it has always been fortunate enough to possess'. Without these friends it could hardly have appeared; and a work of this kind cannot be properly undertaken without a fair amount of collaboration. But the author has misled us none the less. The final form of the book, its precision and accuracy, the enterprise which has driven him to cover 5000 miles in pursuit of itinerant cartularies: all these are to his credit—and above all, the speed with which he completed the work once he had taken it in hand. It is easier to conceive such a project than to bring it to birth.

The importance of charters to the historian needs no emphasis today; and the great bulk of medieval charters survive in copies, which in most cases means cartularies or transcripts of cartularies. By far the largest number of surviving cartularies come from the archives of religious houses; and these form the first two sections of Dr. Davis's book (England, 126 items, including lost cartularies, and Scotland, 76); secular cartularies add another 160. The special merit of the book is that the author has kept clearly in mind the practical needs of those who will use it. The basic information is uniformly given in a clear, precise and orderly way. But the result is not a mere bibliography; it is an historian's manual. The author has not scrupled to include books which contain charters but are not strictly cartularies; and he has included a great deal of information about such books and even about collec-

tions of original charters—which might on a rigorist interpretation be deemed irrelevant, but which will save medievalists no end of wasted time. He has also provided a great deal of information on the nature of the charters in the cartularies and on their dates. Here again, he has the courage to be inconsistent. If he has the information, he lets us have it; and he has let us have it now, not waited for another 25 years, when he might have been able to provide us with exactly the same details about all the cartularies. But it is remarkable how much he has discovered already. For all cartularies he gives basic bibliographical facts, including date and previous owners; and also where possible, notes of later transcripts. The last two points materially increase the value of the list. Many cartularies have travelled a good deal since they were used by Dodsworth, Dugdale and Tanner; and in some of the older lists of cartularies this had the effect that one cartulary, having altered its library and press-mark, might appear two or three times. It is most useful to have these ghosts laid and to have some assurance which of Dugdale's cartularies are still in existence and which are lost. In addition, these notes will save students from wasting time with transcripts, when the original cartulary is extant—hitherto an unavoidable nuisance.

The number of books listed by Dr. Davis is staggeringly large, and it is doubtful whether many additions will be made to it. He has travelled far and penetrated deep. Gonville Hall (now Gonville and Caius College) could be added to the list of Cambridge colleges with a medieval cartulary (or perhaps rather register, but certainly relevant: MS. 706/692). A clause seems to have fallen out of the account of the lost cartulary of Bullington. Large extracts from it survive in B.M. Additional 6118, ff. 375-440, from which some of the information noted seems to come. No. 556 seems to be wrongly ascribed: in spite of the heading, it relates not to Lesnes Abbey, but to the property in Lesnes of Holy Trinity, Aldgate. It might also have been noted that some muniments of Kersall priory (a cell of Lenton) have been copied in no. 1210—the cartulary of a Lancashire lord who was presumably acting as steward of Kersall at the time; they include some twelfth-century documents printed in Farrer's *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*. But the general standard of accuracy and fullness is very high indeed. The book will be constantly in the hands of all those who have to handle medieval charters and cartularies; and their warmest thanks and congratulations must go to the author and the publishers for their enterprise in giving it to us.

University of Liverpool

C. N. L. BROOKE

THE CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE. By H. Fichtenau. Trans. by P. Munz. Studies in Medieval History, vol. ix. Oxford: Blackwell. 1957. xxiv + 196 pp. 25s.

RECHERCHES SUR LES CAPITULAIRES. By F. L. Ganshof. Société d'Histoire du Droit. Paris: Sirey. 1958. 130 pp.

LA BELGIQUE CAROLINGIENNE. By F. L. Ganshof. Collection 'Notre Passé'. Brussels: Renaissance du Livre. 1958. 176 pp. and map.

Among the many accounts of Charlemagne and his Empire which have come from the pens of scholars and enthusiastic amateurs in the past twenty-five years, Professor Heinrich Fichtenau's *Das Karolingische Imperium*, published in 1949, has been generally recognized as having a special place. In a generous, if not uncritical, review in *Le Moyen Age*, 1950, pp. 375-83,

Professor F. L. Ganshof described it as concerned with the 'how' and 'why' of the Carolingian Empire: for although based on a very thorough knowledge of the source-material for Carolingian history, both literary and non-literary, it must be regarded as an 'interpretation' (and a very stimulating one) of the earlier Carolingian period rather than as a synthesis of agreed (or partially agreed) knowledge. The publication of an English translation of the first two-thirds of Professor Fichtenau's book will deservedly make it accessible to a much wider circle of readers in this country than hitherto. Moreover, the author has himself partially revised this new edition, in particular to take account of his own more recent work on the perennial problem of the Imperial Coronation of 800 and of minor criticisms of the original version.

The richness and allusiveness of the author's language presented a difficult problem for the translator but it is one which Mr. Peter Munz has surmounted with conspicuous success. The decision not to translate the whole work is, however, difficult to understand. That part of the original work which dealt with the period after 814 was certainly less satisfactory than the chapters concerned with Charles the Great: but it rightly drew attention to the new creative forces which were then at work in the Empire, and foremost among them the rise of a 'spiritual reform party' and its efforts to lead the Church and its members back to a proper sense of the inward life from its current concentration on the more material aspects of the Faith. The treatment of this topic in the Translator's Introduction (which, incidentally, is both unhelpful and pretentious) is no substitute for the author's own views. The part omitted is, moreover, not irrelevant to a proper appreciation of Professor Fichtenau's interpretation of the reign of Charles the Great: in this view the political events of the years after 814 did not create but revealed weaknesses and tensions that were inherent in the Empire from its creation. Do the concluding words of the English edition make this sufficiently clear? do they not suggest rather the traditional oversharp contrast between Charles and his successors as sovereigns?

These fundamental tensions and weaknesses are certainly strikingly illustrated in two chapters which are something new in a work of this scope and which many readers will undoubtedly find the most interesting in the book. In that devoted to 'The Poor' the author deals, startlingly if justifiably, with the lower clergy and with popular religion as well as with peasant agrarian life. The subject of the other chapter is the slightly more familiar one of 'Nobles and Officials'. Professor Fichtenau is particularly concerned to emphasize the difficulty the Carolingian rulers had of finding men of public spirit and with the moral strength for high office, and he has no difficulty in illustrating this theme from the graphic pages of Alcuin and of Theodulf of Orleans. But the absence of a moral sense is not something peculiar to or even particularly characteristic of the Carolingian period. The distinctive problem of the eighth and ninth centuries seems rather to have been how to find a sufficient number of men with even the minimum capacities to perform some of the tasks required if monarchy was to be effective. A more thorough exploration of the biographical material briefly but effectively used on pp. 111 ff. would, I believe, show this clearly (and I doubt whether it would support the theory of a "Frankish" aristocracy which formed an upper class, above the indigenous nobility' in newly-acquired territories).

Professor Fichtenau's approach to the difficulties of the Carolingian monarchy is not untypical of much of the best of present-day medieval scholarship: but it illustrates some of its limitations. The current lively interest in the Coronation of 800 and its significance is another aspect of the same tendency. Professor Fichtenau's treatment of this complicated topic is among the most illuminating of recent contributions. Yet here too one detects a tendency to be over-subtle. The author has made much, for example, of the Byzantine origin of the term *sacrum palatium* for Charles' new palace at Aachen, but in spite of his insistence to the contrary the term was used before 774 of the palace of the Lombard kings at Pavia which anticipated many of the features of Charles' foundation. If one enters these *caveats* it is only because Professor Fichtenau's book as a whole greatly enriches our understanding of the Carolingian period.

So, in a totally different way, do the two most recent additions to the already formidable list of Professor Ganshof's writings. Both, it need hardly be said, show the clarity of expression, precise formulation of problems and almost incredible familiarity with the sources typical of all this scholar's work. In *Recherches sur les Capitulaires* (a French version of *Wat waren de capitularia?* published in 1955 and previously published in two parts in *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 1957) he is concerned to show, *inter alia*, the nature and characteristics of the various texts misleadingly grouped together in the standard edition of the *Capitularies*, how they are to be classified and understood, what legal force they had and how they were transmitted. There is nothing particularly new in this: Seeliger's *Die Kapitularien der Karolinger*, published in 1893 and still well worth reading, is similar in both scope and scale. What has prompted and abundantly justifies Professor Ganshof's re-examination of the evidence is the increasing recognition in recent years of the importance of the verbal pronouncement in the promulgation of Capitularies. (It is odd that Professor Ganshof, like previous writers, seems to have overlooked one of the most interesting references to the originally verbal character of a capitulary text; two manuscripts which copy a collection evidently put together in the early ninth century as the capitularies were 'published' or became known introduce Boretius n. 55 with the words *capitula . . . quae nuper audita et comperta habemus*.) He insists that he is attempting merely to 'take stock' of the results so far achieved and that little more can be done without a thorough re-examination of the manuscript sources. The first problem that any future editor will have to face is that for many of the texts there never was, in the stricter sense, a single archetype; the second problem is the very complex interrelations of the various collections. It is not the least of the many merits of Professor Ganshof's little book that we are made fully aware of the questions that have to be asked, and answered, if we are ever to use the 'capitularies' with the same confidence as, say, the diplomas of the period. Meanwhile, we learn a great deal about the nature of Carolingian government and the problems faced by the Crown and its servants when it wished to regulate the behaviour of its subjects; and thanks to a twelve-page 'Tableau des Capitulaires et documents assimilables aux Capitulaires' with corrected datings and detailed cross-references to Professor Ganshof's text we can avoid some of the more elementary mistakes when using the existing edition of the 'capitularies'.

La Belgique Carolingienne was written for a popular audience, at least in

the country in question, which means simply that documentation is kept to the minimum (a page-and-a-half at the end; although there is an invaluable ten-page bibliography) and that there is no attempt to discuss controversial points. No grouping of counties or *pagi* in the Carolingian period corresponded even approximately to the area of modern Belgium; and the author has wisely not accepted too narrow a definition of the area with which he is concerned. We are taken briskly through such matters as the geographical setting, which gives a degree of unity to the area in question; its external history (the account of the belated building of fortifications by the King against the Northmen is particularly noteworthy); the exercise of authority by the Crown and its agents, and the administration of justice; the army and the economic resources of the Crown; and so on. Many of the chapters or parts of chapters (e.g. the pages devoted to the royal domains) could hardly be bettered as a succinct introduction to their subject; and they gain rather than lose by being based on evidence drawn from a restricted area with a certain institutional and social coherence. One can only regret that Professor Ganshof could not find room for a slightly more comprehensive account of the counts of the region and their families: the area of modern Belgium and modern France is one of the few for which the detailed work has been done, in a series of elaborately-documented articles by Mr. Grierson, M. Dhondt and others, which are not always easily accessible; and a fuller summary of their results would have provided a secure basis for comparison with other regions. *La Belgique Carolingienne* should be read and enjoyed by the professional historian as well as by the amateur. Together with Professor Fichtenau's book it makes an admirable introduction to the history of the Carolingian Empire as a whole, and to contrasting modern approaches to its problems.

University of Edinburgh

D. A. BULLOUGH

In her comprehensive edition of *THE HOMILIES OF WULFSTAN* (Clarendon Press: O.U.P. 1957. xiii + 384 pp. 55s.) Professor Dorothy Bethurum, of Connecticut College, has brought together twenty-one homilies (not counting variant texts, three of which have not before been printed). All these, mainly in Old English, with a few in Latin, can on good evidence be assigned to Wulfstan, appointed in A.D. 1002 archbishop of York and (in plurality) bishop of Worcester, formerly bishop of London. Their prevailing themes are contemporary evils, Antichrist and the Last Days, the Christian Faith, and episcopal and archiepiscopal functions. A less likeable figure than Abbot Ælfric the Homilist, with whom he is often compared, Wulfstan, who died in 1023, has been known to historians mainly as a powerful preacher on the evidence of his highly topical *Sermo ad Anglos*. But through the Anglo-Saxon scholarship of recent years, he now appears as a far more important figure than had previously been recognized, not only as homilist, orator and translator, but also as statesman, reformer and canonist, the author of several legal codes, and an influential advocate of the Christian Church at the side of the Danish conqueror King Cnut. Reviewing Wulfstan's career, the editor compares and contrasts his position as archbishop in its political and legal aspects with that of outstanding prelates on the continent. She discusses the canon of his homilies, his rhetorical practices and stylistic devices (a criterion of authenticity), his literary sources and his methods of compila-

tion. She provides critical texts with abundant commentary, a classified Bibliography and a General Index (but no Index Verborum and no Modern English rendering save incidentally). Miss Bethurum had already displayed her competence as a scholar in writings on Wulfstan and other themes. This valuable work, the fruit of many years' researches, and (save for the *Sermo ad Anglos*) the first annotated edition of the homilies, will be indispensable to students of the late Old English period who will owe Miss Bethurum a debt of gratitude for her labours.

F. E. HARMER

The first volume in a new series is *THE SAGA OF GUNNLAUG SERPENT-TONGUE* translated by R. Quirk and edited with an introduction and notes by P. G. Foote (Edinburgh: Nelson's Icelandic Texts. 1957. xxv + 47 pp. 18s.). On the pattern of the Latin series from the same publisher it presents the reader with an English translation on the right-hand page facing the Icelandic text opposite. Though not one of the great sagas, the story of the struggle of Gunnlaug and Hrafn for the beautiful Helga has always been popular: what it lacks in profundity of character study is amply compensated for in its perfectly moulded outline; the appearance of King Ethelred, Earl Eric of Hlathir and other historical persons gives it an adventitious interest; and it reveals the impact of the thirteenth-century romantic literature of Western Europe on the older Icelandic literary tradition. These matters, and others, are well discussed in an introduction which relates the Gunnlaug saga to its literary background. Professor Quirk's translation is delightfully vigorous and appropriate, and the general reader will also benefit from the useful glossary of technical terms. If the other volumes in this series match up to the first they should receive a warm welcome.

Jesus College, Cambridge

D. J. V. FISHER

THE PETERBOROUGH CHRONICLE, 1070-1154. Edited by Cecily Clark. Oxford English Monographs. Clarendon Press: O.U.P. 1958. lxx + 120 pp. 30s.

This is a very good edition of MS. Bodley Laud Misc. 636, Annals 1070-1154 with Introduction, Commentary and an Appendix on the Peterborough Interpolations, that is on those entries relating to the early history of Peterborough that were introduced into the body of the Chronicle when the first section was transcribed in 1121.

Historians will find great value in the introduction which, in process of giving a careful, detailed analysis of the language of the manuscript, sheds new light on two key problems: the survival of the English language as a literary instrument after 1066, and the stage at which synthetic Anglo-Saxon fades into analytic Early Middle English. Miss Clark divides her manuscript into three sections. First come the 'inscrutably conventional copied annals' up to and including 1121 when the scribe busied himself replacing the loss of Peterborough's own Chronicle. This section shows full evidence of the living tradition of the West Saxon *Schriftsprache*. The second section, Annals 1122-1131, is attributed to the work of one scribe, possibly to the original copyist. Its language, though influenced by the *Schriftsprache*, is basically East Midland. The third section, familiar to the historian because

of the lurid description of conditions under the 'Anarchy', was written all of a piece in 1155. Its language is much nearer the true Peterborough speech, though even here traces of the Schriftsprache may be found. The peculiar importance of the Peterborough MS. lies precisely in that it spans so critical a period in the history of the language. 'What from an Old-English point of view seems to be the dissolution of the Schriftsprache into unsystematized, colloquial dialect appears from the modern point of view as the first step towards a new literary language.'

For its analysis of language change this edition is certainly extremely valuable. What else does it give us? It offers a much more attractive text than that of Plummer: the format is more pleasing to the eye, the punctuation and scheme of word-division more readily intelligible. And it is scrupulously accurate, even having the edge on Plummer himself in this respect. A comparison of both texts with the facsimile shows Plummer differing from the original on some two dozen occasions, none of real importance: in Miss Clark's work the present reviewer has noted only five such variations, all minute slips twixt proof and page such as *luuedon* for *luueden* (Folio 90r : Annal 1137, l. 74). Where she emends she does so sensibly, taking the reader fully into her confidence and giving him full confidence in her judgement. She refers to recent work to substantiate her choice on the knottier problems (Annal 1123, l. 65, *wuod* for *heuod*; Annal 1135, l. 8, *pestreden* for *pestre*). She incorporates the best of past suggestions, retaining *reft* (Annal 1085(6), l. 18), which has caused difficulty in the past, emending *eyrlisce* to *cyrllisce* (Annal 1092, l. 5). On the very few occasions when she changes the order of the manuscript she gives good reason for doing so (Annal 1070, l. 36ff.; Annal 1137, l. 19ff.). By the use of ultra-violet and some ingenuity she provides as full a reading of Annal 1154 as we are likely to get.

Miss Clark tells us that the primary purpose of her edition is philological. In a sense this is true. But it also offers much to the historian, giving an attractive and accurate text of a manuscript that takes us from the time when a ruler held his *hired*, made good *frid*, and acted with *riht* (or *unriht*), to a time when a ruler held his *curt*, made good *país* and did good *iustise*.

University College, Cardiff

H. R. LOYN

THE EARLY CHARTERS OF ESSEX. By C. Hart. University of Leicester, Department of Local History, Occasional Papers nos. 10. THE SAXON PERIOD. 31 pp. 6s., and 11. THE NORMAN PERIOD. 48 pp. 8s. 6d. Leicester University Press. 1957.

This is primarily a very summary critical catalogue of charters and 'lost charters' (various alleged acts which may or may not have been chartered) relating to Essex before A.D. 1100. The indications of texts and commentaries are useful, though they are not intended to be complete. Mr. Hart sometimes has new identifications and new datings to suggest and some radical re-appraisals of authenticity. Not all are convincing; for example, his scepticism of two St. Paul's charters (nos. 77, 117) depends too much on his acceptance of J. A. Robinson's mysteriously precise date, *circa* 1087, for no. 97. The descriptions of documents are often at fault, but, like the mistranslations (serious in no. 91) and most other mistakes, are readily corrected when references are followed up. An estate at Moulsham is located both in Chelmsford parish (nos. 65, 68) and in Great Leighs (nos. 99, 100) with baffling

repercussions in the unhelpful index. One Westminster charter (J. A. Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*, p. 127) has been omitted.

Of the appendices the one which is probably of most general interest attempts to reconstruct the process by which St. Paul's accumulated property in Essex and discusses the division of this property between bishop and chapter (Appendix B; cf. C, 'The Christ Church estates in Essex').

Keble College, Oxford

ERIC STONE

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL ENGLAND, 1216-1399, vol. iii, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION, 1216-1399. By B. Wilkinson. London: Longmans. 1958. viii + 421 pp. 35s.

The publication of this volume concludes the trilogy which began with a volume on *Politics and the Constitution, 1216-1307* (1948) and was continued in a second volume for the period 1307-99 (1952). All three volumes print in translation a number of extracts from documents.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Professor Wilkinson was ill-advised to adopt the plan for this work which he has adopted. His first volume comprised 67 pages of general introduction, followed by five 'introductions to the documents' relating to as many separate episodes; his second volume comprised another 84 pages of general introduction, followed by nine more 'introductions to the documents' relating to a further nine episodes. The present volume provides yet another general introduction of 71 pages, followed by another eight 'introductions to the documents' relating not this time to episodes but to selected topics, such as The Kingship, the King's Justice, Parliament, etc. The inevitable consequence of this plethora of introductory essays and this piece-meal arrangement is that it is quite impossible to obtain from the work any connected account of the Constitutional History of the period with which it purports to deal. Such a work is bound to fall between two or more stools. It is not a textbook; it contains many useful discussions of current views on various subjects, but hardly on a scale sufficient to carry these views very much further in any particular direction; much of the content is of a specialist interest, but the supporting material printed is all in translation, which is practically useless for serious detailed study.

But an even more alarming feature of the whole work is Professor Wilkinson's apparent unwillingness to clarify his own mind on the question of what is the proper subject-matter of constitutional history, and to define his own terms with any precision. The explanation of the often amorphous character of his writing seems to be that he has thought in terms of 'political liberty' and similar conceptions which had next to no meaning in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and which in any case are essentially terms of modern political theory and which even today are not the language of either constitutional law or history. He writes frequently of the 'nation', despite the fact that it would be hard to find this word with all its implications anywhere in his documents. He often cites and prints texts which were merely propaganda or partisan assertions and in no sense constitutional documents at all. It is, for example, astonishing that he should assert (p. 323) that 'the most important single piece of evidence about the nature of parliament in the 14th century is the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum*', and then admit three lines later that 'its purpose (was) political propaganda'.

The selection of documents to illustrate the topics is often very curious.

Thus, for 'The Kingship' we are given twelve extracts; four of these relate to coronations (mostly on the religious side); seven are from literary sources of varying types; the remaining one is from the Statute of Treasons, 1352. How the Kingship as it really was is to be envisaged on the basis of this material it is hard to say. None of the topics dealt with in this volume can be said to be adequately illustrated.

One feels at times that Professor Wilkinson is too eager to demonstrate the validity of his own ideas on various points. He does not like, for example, Maitland's assertion that the councillors were retained to carry on the work after the rest of the parliament of 1305 were dismissed. 'It is true', he writes (p. 275), 'that everybody was dismissed in 1305 except 'the bishops, and earls, and barons, and others who are of the council', 'but it has not been (and may never be) placed beyond all doubt who these magnates and others of the council really were.' Far from being one plain meaning, there are, he says, two clear alternatives; either the king retained the council alone (including magnates) or he retained his magnates and his council, and he prefers the latter alternative. But there is no real ambiguity about the original text. There were dismissed the bishops and other prelates, earls, barons, knights of the counties, citizens and burgesses and other men of the commune, . . . *except (sauve)* the bishops, earls and barons, justices and others who are of the king's council.

Although there is much of interest and value in Professor Wilkinson's expositions, it must be said that in general his account is unconvincing and unrealistic. Constitutional history cannot be written in terms of political principles and propaganda or idealistic conceptions of any kind, but only in terms of struggles for power: to retain power or to obtain power. That is the essence of the matter; friction between rivals for power is the source of constitutional development, not anachronistic liberalism.

University College, Cardiff

S. B. CHRIMES

The first volume of the *Registrum Antiquissimum* of Lincoln Cathedral was published in 1931 by the late Canon Foster, and the work, subsequently taken over by Miss Kathleen Major, needs no introduction to scholars. The most recent volume (*THE REGISTRUM ANTIQUISSIMUM OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF LINCOLN*, vol. viii, edited by Kathleen Major for the Lincoln Record Society, 1958, xxiii + 258 pp.) worthily maintains the tradition of its predecessors. It is the first volume of the series to deal exclusively with property held by the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln within the boundaries of the city. In addition to a scrupulously careful edition and annotation of the charters, the volume contains a most interesting appendix dealing with the mayors and bailiffs of Lincoln in the thirteenth century, and an illuminating note, contributed by Mr. Geoffrey Barrow, on the date of a charter printed in volume iii. The book is of great interest in that it illustrates not only the financial position of the cathedral in the thirteenth century, but also the social and economic life of a prosperous city, where tradesmen and their wives and daughters combined pious donations to the church with practical good sense concerning the maintenance and disposal of property and the due provision of easements and access. The Dean and Chapter appear, on the whole, as sensible and fair landlords. It is interesting to note that the power of the famous Jewish community in Lincoln was steadily declining at this period,

for a number of tenements granted to the cathedral had formerly been in the possession of wealthy Jews.

Although this is primarily a book for trained scholars, I think that it would be valuable to anyone interested in thirteenth-century history. It is, of course, desirable that students of medieval history should be able to read Latin, but the English introductions to each charter are so clear and thorough that the work could be used with great advantage by the amateur historian who knows no Latin, or by the intelligent schoolboy who wishes to find out something about the life of English citizens in the thirteenth century.

Westfield College, London

ROSALIND HILL

THE SICILIAN VESPERS. By Steven Runciman. Cambridge University Press. 1958. xiv + 356 pp. 27s. 6d.

'I have been a traditional kind of historian,' wrote Dr. G. M. Trevelyan in his *Autobiography*. Sir Steven Runciman, who dedicates this work to Dr. Trevelyan, is also a 'traditional kind of historian'. His irony owes something to Gibbon, though it has less acerbity, his character-sketches, imaginative insight and picturesque touches something to Macaulay, his mastery of narrative to Trevelyan himself. Like these predecessors, he does not shrink from the decisive part played by the arbitrament of war. To all this he adds his own special virtue, a superbly cosmopolitan command of the situation prevailing over wide areas, with all its diplomatic implications and consequences. If he now undertakes a topic less stirring than the Crusades—the first volume of that work was surely his masterpiece—it is one which, as he says, is involved with a great change in the position of the Papacy, and which incidentally brought to his Greeks a late revenge against the Franks who had done them so much harm. His theme is a wider one than the Sicilian revolt of 1282—the book has the sub-title 'A history of the Mediterranean world in the later thirteenth century'—but the rising itself has been important as a historical 'myth', beyond its immediate consequences. As recently as 1943 the resistance movement planned to harry the Anglo-American invaders of the island was entitled *Vespri Siciliani*.

Sir Steven's qualities as an historian have their own dangers, one of the more evident being the possibility that his skill in constructing narrative may disguise the necessarily speculative nature of his story. His treatment of the consequences of the Sicilian revolt in central Italy may serve to illustrate this. One of these was, he says, a 'Ghibelline revolution' at Perugia. It is not easy to decide what campaigns of that spring were influenced by the Vespers, for April was the conventional opening of the campaigning season. The revolt broke out in Palermo on the evening of 30 March, and the first certain evidence that Perugia had antagonized the Pope seems to date from 16 April (Potthast, *Regesta*, n. 21889). It is just possible that the news of the revolt, which did not spread widely till early in April, reached Perugia before that town defied the Pope, but sixteen days is a short time to allow for the news to travel several hundred miles, for the Perugians to decide to act on it, and the Pope to hear of this action and write instructions to Perugia's neighbours: it is altogether more probable that the town was shaping its course independently. This is particularly the case since its action was, in its own eyes, not a 'Ghibelline revolution', but the resumption of a long-standing quarrel with the neighbouring commune of Foligno. Here one

encounters another of the disadvantages of Sir Steven's merits, for what to the wider view appears 'Guelf' or 'Ghibelline' is often motivated, whatever its influence on the general diplomatic scene, by purely local issues and circumstances.

In one of his crusading volumes Sir Steven justly remarks that it is beside the point for critics to complain that an author has not written the book they themselves would have written had they undertaken the theme. While accepting this, one may mention some of the matters involved in this story in which Sir Steven shows comparatively little interest. One is the question of *which* Sicilians—too often they are just 'the islanders', and this also is 'traditional' history—resented Angevin rule and then controlled and supported the revolt. In fact townsmen seem to have played a far larger part than feudatories or peasants. No doubt it was they who had to endure French garrisons, but it is noticeable that what these town dwellers asked for was not a united, independent Sicily at all, but their own independence as communes. Was not the revolt largely the work of men who envied the privileged cities of central and northern Italy, and with whom patriotic motives came after municipal ones? Sir Steven also has comparatively little interest in shipping, trade and sea power, despite the work's sub-title, and indeed in Spain, which is perhaps too occidental to enjoy his full sympathies. The Vespers marked the rise of Aragon's power in the Mediterranean and the following century was Barcelona's great period of mercantile expansion. This was to lead in turn to the Spanish maritime empire of the sixteenth century, based on sea-power in the Mediterranean and Atlantic, and it is at least arguable that this was the most important of all the consequences of the revolt.

London School of Economics

D. P. WALEY

FROM FIEF TO INDENTURE. By Bryce D. Lyon. Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1957. xv + 331 pp. 63s.

The fief of land has long been regarded as the essential element in a feudal system which supposedly dominated the greater part of western Europe in the Middle Ages. Until recently historians have given only casual or careless attention to other kinds of fief, annual incomes paid usually in money but occasionally in kind. The substance of the grant appeared to be a pension or fee, and so modern; but the form of the grant was undoubtedly feudal, and so medieval. In 1946 M. Sczaniecki published the first study devoted to the *fief-rente*, stressing its importance as a political and diplomatic weapon in the policy of expansion pursued by the late Capetian and early Valois monarchs. Mr. Lyon then made a study of the use of the money fief by the medieval English kings, and showed that it was primarily important as a method of raising troops on the continent and of gaining access to the recruiting grounds of the Low Countries and Gascony. In this book he attempts a comprehensive study of what, following M. Sczaniecki, he now prefers to call the *fief-rente* in France, Germany, the Low Countries and England from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries. It is a pity that for the sake of including the unimportant fiefs in kind he should have abandoned the realistic term of money fief for the awkward one of *fief-rente*; and it is unfortunate that he should have excluded from his review the Latin States of the Crusaders, where the money fief played a major rôle.

Within his chosen geographical limits Mr. Lyon has assembled a mass of evidence which abundantly demonstrates the nature, prominence and uses of the money fief. In areas where money was more abundant than land, as in the Low Countries and the Latin States of the Crusaders, money fiefs were used to obtain and reward vassals. And in the Anglo-French wars the money fief helped both sides to draw troops and allies from a wide area, though here too the princes of the Low Countries are prominent as recipients and donors, especially in the reigns of John and Edward I. The flexibility of the money fief allowed it to be used for other purposes: in family settlements and dowries and as a means of retaining councillors and household knights. But Mr. Lyon is able to mobilize an overwhelming amount of evidence to show, against the arguments of Sczaniecki and other scholars, that the money fief was primarily important for its military rôle. It established the claim to military service, though it did not constitute the payment for such service. Payment was made separately in the form of subsidies, wages and maintenance.

What then is the place of the money fief in the history of military organization? It was, Mr. Lyon argues, 'the link between traditional feudalism and contractual military service', 'a transitional military institution which helped to bridge the gap between non-paid feudal service and contractual non-feudal paid service'. 'As such', he adds, 'it has been completely overlooked by historians of military institutions, even by those whose speciality is English military history.' In particular he regards it as beyond doubt that the money fief was the feudal antecedent of the English indenture system; and in general he sees the money fief as revealing with peculiar clarity 'the slow decline of feudalism in the face of the onrushing money economy'. This chronological scheme is over-simplified and the bridging function assigned to the money fief exaggerated. The Conqueror granted a money fief before he made any grant of land in England to be held by knight service. Henry I's grant of a money fief to the count of Flanders in 1101 is too early and the size of military assistance provided for is too great to be good evidence for the traditional nature of English feudalism in its first century. It is significant that the word *feudum* gives Mr. Lyon considerable difficulty; and he has to write that 'we are thus faced with deciding whether in an age progressively less feudal the word *feudum* is feudal or non-feudal'. He is confident that the *feudum* of £50 a year, paid in two annual instalments, granted to Engelard de Cigogné by Henry III was a money fief, because Engelard was a trusted soldier and councillor in the service of the crown. But he classifies as 'non-feudal *feoda*' the payments to the household knights of Edward I, also paid in two annual instalments to men who gave distinguished service as soldiers and councillors. And, given Mr. Lyon's own conclusion that no money fiefs were ever granted by the English kings to their English subjects, it would seem more natural to stress, as Mr. N. B. Lewis has done, the similarity between household retainers and the indentured retinue than to insist on the money fief as the true origin of the indenture system.

In isolating the money fief as an institution Mr. Lyon has accumulated and analysed an immense quantity of evidence ranging from enfeoffment in chickens to military contracts of major importance; and it is work which students will value. But in isolating the money fief from other forms of military contract and organization he has exaggerated its importance and imposed too simple a scheme on the complex interrelations of war and social

change. And in accumulating so much evidence Mr. Lyon has not always mastered it. The grant of a money fief to Amadeus IV of Savoy by Henry III is used first to illustrate his point that Henry III granted money fiefs to 'a pack of parasites' and next as the only instance of an English king using the money fief to obtain rights to castles. For the more complex and interesting story behind this transaction the reader has to refer to the pages of Sir Maurice Powicke. It seems odd to find Henry I represented as maintaining friendly relations with William Clito as count of Flanders. And sometimes record type has given Mr. Lyon trouble. 'Et in huius rei testamenta h.l.n. patentes vobis mittimus' is surprising both in what it expands and what it leaves unexpanded.

The Queen's College, Oxford

J. O. PRESTWICH

DIE DEUTSCHEN STÄDTECHRONIKEN ALS SPIEGEL DES BÜRGERLICHEN SELBSTVERSTÄNDNISSSES IM SPÄTMITTELALTER. By Heinrich Schmidt.

Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht. 1958. 147 pp. DM. 16.80.

In his introductory chapters the author traces the origin of historiography in medieval German towns to their authorities' interest in the collection of documents and information relevant to their political aims. Analyses of three groups of chronicles, written during the fifteenth century in Augsburg, Nuernberg and Lübeck form the book's core. In the third section an attempt is made to reconstruct the world-picture behind the chronicles of the period. Dr. Schmidt assumes that this literature, which was more or less closely connected with the towns' government, can be said to illuminate the mental attitude determining the life of the bourgeois society. He is successful in his discussions of single concepts; for instance in showing that the identification of the towns' interests and claims with the 'Empire', which occurs frequently in the chronicles, represents a form of thought underlying the citizens' political actions. But it seems difficult to accept his more 'comprehensive interpretations. The author has a preference for the terminology of existentialism, which makes some of his phrases and passages hard to understand or even meaningless for less sophisticated historians. And there is a more fundamental objection. Literature in contrast to writing as a business technique is a late comer in the city society north of the Alps. Before any conclusions about the townspeople's ideas of time and space can be drawn from the incoherence of diverse subjects on the chronicler's page, we must certainly consider whether this kind of compilation is not simply caused by the primitiveness of the writer's literary education. The resulting question, how far the reality of the rising middle class is expressed in the historiography under discussion, is not critically examined in Dr. Schmidt's book.

University of Liverpool

HANS LIEBESCHÜTZ

LE BAILLIAGE ROYAL DE MONTFERRAND (1425-1556). By André Bossuat.

Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1957. 208 pp.

This well-written and well-documented book is of much wider interest than its precise title might lead one to expect. The late and short-lived bailliwick of Montferrand in the Auvergne was created to be a focus of royal authority in a district which should have reverted to the Crown but which was, instead, for political reasons, allowed to go *à titre d'apanage* to the Bourbons. The *baillis*, backed by the Parlement de Paris and the Chambre des Comptes,

succeeded so well in extending their jurisdiction at the expense of that of the Bourbon Seneschals of Auvergne (by exploiting, for instance, exemptions or appeals) that the Crown was spared the worst consequences of its political necessities and the royal authority was a reality in Auvergne, despite the appanage. It reminds one very much of the methods by which the monarchy ate into the original feudal lordships of France in the thirteenth century. It enables us to see how that monarchy was able to survive the recrudescence of lordship, and a particularly dangerous form of it, in the multiplication of appanages in the fifteenth century. The author is also interesting on the rivalries between Montferrand, Riom and Clermont, three towns all within a few miles of each other, and on the economic and social aspects of the relationship between the bailliwick and the town of Montferrand, but above all (in his own words) '*le bailliage de Montferrand intéresse l'histoire générale*'.

University of Southampton

H. ROTHWELL

WARWICK THE KINGMAKER. By P. M. Kendall. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1957. 365 pp. 30s.

Warwick the Kingmaker, as Stubbs remarked, 'filled for many years a place which never before or after was filled by a subject'. Yet, despite his prominence, it is no accident that he has attracted no biographer since Sir Charles Oman published his youthful study in 1891. To some extent this is because he 'represents a direction which history did not take' and has not interested constitutional or economic historians, but much more because of the lack of information about his personality and his motives. 'Passing time', Professor Kendall tells us, 'has been cruel to whatever revelations of himself he left in his restless wake', and it is symptomatic of the difficulties that Warwick's picture does not appear among the twelve portraits of contemporary notables which illustrate this book. If Professor Kendall has not been able to bring much new information to his study, he has, nevertheless, succeeded in making Warwick sufficiently real and interesting to bear comparison with such vigorous and well-documented personalities as Louis XI and Philip the Good of Burgundy (he is at his best in recounting Warwick's diplomatic dealings with these princes) and has equipped him with motives which fit convincingly into the sophisticated and rather cynical world of the late fifteenth century. In one respect, at least, this book represents a distinct improvement on Professor Kendall's recent study of Richard III, for he has here abandoned that violent emotional sympathy for his hero which led him, full in the face of fact and tradition, to present that ruthless king as a much-maligned Christian gentleman. In contrast, his view of Warwick is more balanced and critical, less impossibly virtuous. The portrait is less complete than it might have been. No real attempt has been made to sketch the context of Warwick's private life. Although he was the greatest English landowner of his day, we are told nothing of the responsibilities of estate management which necessarily occupied much of his time, and very little about the circle of friends and intimate councillors who formed Warwick's affinity, although materials exist for a study of this kind. It seems strange, too, to see Warwick described as 'lacking the tradition of, the training in, chivalric pomp': his coat-of-arms is the most elaborate of the whole middle ages, and the Beauchamp chapel which he built for his father-in-law at Warwick is a vast heraldic monument to Warwick's family pride and sense of aristocratic dignity. In another direction,

Professor Kendall has been led by the paucity of direct information about Warwick's activities to attribute to him too large a part in the great events of his day. It is hard to believe, for example, that the lords' rebuttal of Richard of York's claim to the throne was a mere comedy stage-managed by Warwick, or that Louis XI's diplomacy was so exclusively centred on Earl Richard as Professor Kendall believes. Warwick's military ability seems taken for granted rather than proved, and the repeated description of him as the greatest naval captain of his day (he was in fact the only one) exaggerates the importance of his piratical attacks on Channel shipping in the fourteen-fifties. Professor Kendall quotes a Paston correspondent for Warwick's 'victory' over the Spaniards in 1458: he does not add the rest of Jerningham's comment 'And for sothe, we wer well and trewly bette'. There are many other minor errors of fact, trivial in themselves, which together tend to undermine confidence in the reliability of Professor Kendall's narrative, and occasionally produce a bizarre effect: the Duke of Alençon, for example, did not receive the English envoys in 1455 'stretched naked on a bed'—he was merely *in bed*. Professor Kendall has a lively and colourful style, with occasional lapses (what can be said of 'these images of the future remained diffuse, a vapour struck by the sun of what-might-be into a rainbow to light Warwick's way to the bosom of the King of France?'): but for the most part this is a very readable book. This full-length re-appraisal of the Kingmaker was well worth attempting. Warwick emerges as a human and understandable figure, caught up in the consequences of his early and unusual success. Not even Professor Kendall's persuasiveness can make a great man out of this touchy aristocrat who wrought his own downfall.

University of Bristol

CHARLES ROSS

THE HURLING TIME, by Maurice Collis (London: Faber and Faber. 1958. 323 pp. 32s. 6d.), really falls into two parts. The first 230 pages are a narrative of English history, mainly the war in France and Spain, from the Crécy expedition to the eve of the Peasants' Revolt. The remainder of the book is devoted to the Revolt itself. Mr. Collis is up-to-date and well-read in the modern secondary literature. He has also read the chronicles, but there is little evidence of further investigation or reinterpretation. At this level he retells the familiar stories vividly and with a feeling for the atmosphere and conventions of the period which makes the book a good introduction for the general reader.

St. Catherine's Society, Oxford.

G. A. HOLMES

DIE ALTESTE LEBENSDESCHEIBUNG DES HEILIGEN ADALBERT is Schrift 1 (92 pp.) and UNTERSUCHUNGEN ÜBER INHALT UND DATIERUNG DER BRIEFE GERBERTS VON AURILLAC, PAPST SYLVESTERS II is Schrift 2 (206 pp.) of *Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Both constitute part of preparatory work undertaken for the *Regesta* and *Jahrbücher* of Otto III, and the studies of Gerbert's letters in particular will be indispensable for students of tenth-century Europe.

EARLY MODERN

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY. Vol. I, THE RENAISSANCE, 1493-1520. Edited by G. R. Potter. Cambridge University Press. 1957. xxxvi + 532 pp. 37s. 6d.

'Our first volume is not merely intended to describe and discuss the Renaissance as a movement of European history. It is also designed as an introduction volume whose business is, as it were, to bring upon the stage the nations, forces and interests which will bear the chief part in the action.' So Mandell Creighton wrote in his introduction to the first volume in the original series, and the words promise to repeat themselves in the new version though perhaps with more emphasis on the Renaissance itself than on the *dramatis et nationum personæ*. The old first volume omitted the graphic and plastic arts and conceived of the Renaissance primarily as a movement in general culture and political concepts and organization. In some ways the book was more coherent and hard-hitting than its finely poised successor, the child of several generations of research and answering to the demands, as Sir George Clark's general introduction points out, of a wider and more historically interested public: for with the greater accessibility of records, both in manuscript and in print, and with the increase of all sorts of well-illustrated specialist monographs, more people are asking more (sometimes unreasonably more) of the historian than at the beginning of the century. Professor Potter has bravely (and successfully) put in the arts: these chapters strengthen the whole.

The form of the volume has been, very naturally, influenced by the last tome of the Cambridge Medieval History. It is the high and (if the term be excused) fruity Renaissance that is here. The fifteenth century has been largely cleared out of the way, save in two chapters which are indispensable in a volume of the Renaissance, Professor Hay's Introductory, and one which can, without disrespect to other writers, be called entirely outstanding from among the whole range of the Cambridge histories, Dr. Hans Baron's 'Fifteenth Century civilization and the Renaissance'. The sections on the arts show how difficult it must have been to follow the political dating adopted, and soften the sharp periodization by their reference to movements and intangibles which cannot be boxed into '1493-1520'. The forces and factors that disunified Christendom and helped to produce the highly variegated modern state cannot under this dating scheme be fully included here: only in a chapter like Mr. John Hale's on the contemporary form of international relations—an admirable discussion of diplomacy and war—does one sense the wider background of the supplanting of *Christianitas* by Europe, the Europe of states in the posture of gladiators. But of the newly emerging Europe there is an excellent cross-section that never forces the evidence and sees the world as the men of that age saw it, with all its extraordinary paradoxes: 'geographical scholarship bursting (as the Master of St. Catherine's puts it) the bonds of nationalism in a strongly nationalistic age'; the mercenary as the right and inevitable form of soldier: the old aristocratic constitutionalism successfully defying 'strong' monarchy, so that a figure like Maximilian stands here, in Mr. Laffan's pages, as particularly tragic (no, pathetic rather); Burgundy still able to achieve coherence in and against a nibbling competitive world of rulers planning absorption or division by matrimony. Somehow the vast canvas is not blurred at its extremities. Readers of Dr.

Macartney's chapter on Eastern Europe will have found a lucid guide at last, and in Mr. Rocca's section on the Hispanic kingdoms and in the monographs on Portuguese and Spanish expansion into Africa and the New World there is much that no text-book has hitherto contained. It is a pity, though, that the Renaissance Papacy has been handled in so external, even cavalier, a fashion. About religion we hear very little and presumably must wait for vol. II.

How far does this volume satisfy the student of political ideas? There may be great advantages, as Creighton said, in avoiding 'the tyranny of a single mind' through composite works of this modern type: but the historian who reads about Europe in the Renaissance must be largely interested in the growth and progress of absolute monarchy and in the theory of monarchical power as it appeared to contemporaries. Through what institution, by what organization of the prince's *familia* or of his council was this absolutism realized, and was it in effect absolute? What is the position of the princes of the blood? How far is royal government the government of a single individual or of a collective individual, a family? How far does fiscality, the doctrine of an economically solvent and commercially advancing state, determine royal policy? There are many more such questions but the answers, or partial answers, to them are dispersed over the chapters in this book: nobody seems to think of them as a whole. It is true that our first business is to get at the facts: but if there is a Renaissance form of society, if there are concepts in the political sphere that we can justly label Renaissance concepts, is not there a case for more of that best type of theory, theory presented historically from a close analysis of the structure of state government and the organization of society?

All Souls College, Oxford

E. F. JACOB

Some of the origins and implications of modern industrial society form the theme of *CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF INDUSTRIAL CIVILISATION* by Professor J. U. Nef of Chicago (C.U.P. 1958. xv + 163 pp. 20s.). Dissatisfied with any concept of history as exclusively economic, the author turns his attention to the rapid development of scientific thought and achievement in the mid-seventeenth century, in order to consider how and why this happened. Peace, especially in England, bible teaching in Protestant countries and the intellectual achievements of the Counter Reformation provide some explanation. Although 'Europe' is frequently mentioned, examples from France, Great Britain and Switzerland necessarily fill most of this modest volume; when dealing with the value of exact quantitative measurements, the history of fuel and the evolution of war, the lectures are at their best. The author rightly admires Erasmus and Zwingli, but it is scarcely accurate to put the Jesuits into the *early* sixteenth century or to depict Calvin as saying mass, 'laying his Bible on a rock'. Better perhaps as lectures than in print, this volume will help to further discussions on the nature of European civilization and of the significance of the Catholic and Protestant creeds in the past and today.

University of Sheffield

G. R. POTTER

ENGLISH OVERSEAS TRADE DURING THE CENTURIES OF EMERGENCE. By G. D. Ramsay. London: Macmillan. 1957. 279 pp. 30s.

This book consists of seven essays on aspects of English trade between 1500

and 1750. Dr. Ramsay disclaims any intention of writing a consecutive history of his subject; yet he has come near to doing so. The first essay describes the Antwerp market at its height. It is followed by papers dealing with the main lines on which English trade was reoriented in the century after 1550: the penetration of the Mediterranean, the return to the Baltic, and the beginning of commerce to the East. The period 1640 to 1750 is a new phase in which the principal developments are found in the Atlantic trades of sugar, slaves, tobacco and fish: these are discussed in 'The Rise of the Western Ports'. Finally, Dr. Ramsay has a paper on the 'British Atlantic Community'. This turns out to be more than it promises and is, in fact, a concise sketch of British commercial interests in the mid-eighteenth century, not only in the Atlantic but throughout the world: the threads of the previous essays are here gathered together. All these topics could, of course, be much more fully discussed and non-regional topics such as shipping could be introduced; but there is no important overseas trade other than those to Ireland and France which the author does not in some degree consider.

There is one other essay, on smuggling under Elizabeth I. Dr. Ramsay's interest in the subject is already well-known; but he may not convince all his readers that its inclusion here was altogether wise. Some stretch of imagination is needed to see Elizabethan smuggling as a study in 'Some Modern Origins of the English-Speaking World'—the book's sub-title. The essay is a piece of detailed research pitched at a different level from the others, and it sheds little or no light on them.

These essays are, with the exception noted, thoughtful summaries of recent research. They are based, for the most part, on secondary material, but the author's familiarity with this material, German, French and Italian as well as English, is enviable. Interesting and original interpretations are not lacking. In particular Dr. Ramsay is anxious to stress the rôle of political factors in commercial history. English concentration on the German market, for example, is explained partly by the absence of centralized political control there. If one authority denied entry of English cloth, another could usually be found to permit it. Similarly, the growth of English interest in the Mediterranean is seen less in terms of an extensive expansion of an economy restricted by fixed costs and more as a response to peace with Spain. This kind of argument is very salutary for economic historians who are perhaps apt to imprison themselves in their own discipline. If the Oxford School of Modern History has anything to contribute to economic history, it may well lie in the explanation of economic phenomena in political (as well as economic) terms.

Dr. Ramsay eschews the use of statistics. Some readers will thank him for that, but there are occasions when they may feel a little lost. When presented with a list of English exports to the Mediterranean, it is useful to know which were quantitatively meaningful and which were not. Here, and elsewhere one feels, Dr. Ramsay has tried to make economic history less professional. For those who want to see the relevance of trade to foreign policy and vice versa, his book will be valuable; for the specialist, it will be salutary; and for the beginner, stimulating.

New College, Oxford

K. G. DAVIES

- ETHIOPIAN ITINERARIES *ca.* 1400–1524. Edited by O. G. S. Crawford. London: C.U.P. for the Hakluyt Society. 1958. xxix + 232 pp. 30s.
- TANGIER AT HIGH TIDE: THE JOURNAL OF JOHN LUKE 1670–1673. Edited by Helen Andrews and Paul Kaufman. Geneva: Librairie E. Droz, and Paris: Librairie Minard. 1958. 256 pp. 33s.
- DUTCH-ASIATIC TRADE 1620–1740. By Kristof Glamann. Copenhagen: Danish Science Press, and The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1958. xi + 334 pp. 35 kr. Danish.

The three volumes under consideration in this review cover the epoch in which Europeans were moving from their own small homeland to penetrate the world, and in one way or another they all deal with the contacts of Europeans and non-Europeans. The first throws light on some preliminary feelers and helps to underline the crucial importance for the great discoveries of the native land of Columbus. Alessandro Zorzi was a Venetian who flourished *c.* 1500, and who travelled as far in one direction as England and in the other as Alexandria. He had a particular curiosity about the mysterious kingdom of Ethiopia, collecting about it such information as came his way, chiefly in the form of itineraries from Ethiopian monks. No doubt the intrinsic interest of the text lies in the topographical information about Ethiopia before the Grinh and Galla invasions of the sixteenth century, but the volume has also a wider appeal. In a valuable introduction the editor among other things traces the gradual emergence of Ethiopia into the ken of Europeans in the later middle ages. An Ethiopian embassy, thirty strong, visited Rome and Avignon in 1306, and there was an Ethiopian ecclesiastical delegation at the Council of Florence in 1441, but it was the Italian trading stations in Egypt that supplied the real link between the main body of Christendom and its remote African outpost. At the court of 'Prester John' the emperor in 1482 there were nine Italians and one Catalan, all named. As Dr. Crawford points out, while European interest in Ethiopia was mainly political and religious in its manifestations, its basis was economic. At the 'great mercantile city of Gendevelu' there existed an entrepot for Indian and European goods.

In the next book the Europeans are no longer adventurers in a half-fabulous land but a well-organized garrison holding a fort in Islamic territory. John Luke was secretary to the governor of Tangier and judge-advocate for many years, and his diary was used by E. M. G. Routh, whose account of the English occupation, published in 1912, is unlikely to be superseded. It contains no revelations and deals largely with the trivia of garrison life. The diary confirms the commercial insignificance of Tangier. The neighbouring Moors were reluctant traders, and it does not appear that Luke profited much from his private traffic in English goods with Spain. The Levant convoys swept past the fortress, as did the Newfoundland fishing fleet on its way doubtless to Leghorn or Genoa—45 sail in convoy in 1672—and only occasionally did ships in the face of an adverse wind seek the dubious shelter of the half-built mole. It needed the outbreak in 1672 of war with the Dutch to demonstrate the true worth of the naval base.

The study of Dutch-Asiatic trade by Dr. Glamann is a solid and impressive achievement, based upon a meticulous examination of unprinted material drawn from archives not only in Holland but all over north-western Europe, from Nantes to Stockholm. He has produced a learned and independent survey of Dutch commercial activity in the orient as distinct from the political

and naval aspects which have hitherto dominated the discussions of historians: as he points out, the Dutch East India Company existed to make profits and declare dividends. Dutch-Asiatic trade involved the maintenance of a network of commercial routes that extended over much of the world. The primacy of pepper in the first half of the seventeenth century among shipments to Europe gave way to the dispatch of fine textiles in the second, while in the early eighteenth century coffee and tea rose to prominence. Spices were a constant freight, but the Company was ready to test the home market with all sorts of goods, from marmalade to chocolate and birds' nests. The problem of paying for these exotic wares was solved by a secondary and inter-Asiatic traffic of much complexity. Dr. Glamann is understandably cautious in his judgements, and he points out how the book-keeping methods of the Company made it difficult to separate capital expenditure from working costs and so reckon the true profits (or losses) in any year. Nor does he seek to explain why the Dutch merchants in the Yemen coffee hunt proved less adventurous than their rivals, who got better bargains by seeking out the country markets to which the peasant producers brought their beans, nor why the Dutch at about the same time were allowing themselves to be outdistanced by the English in Bengal. Perhaps wisely, he sticks to the facts. Meanwhile, students of both European and oriental trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries will ignore his book at their peril.

With all friendliness and respect, however, a word of criticism must be added. The presentation of Dr. Glamann's work is of far lower standard than its content. His text is shrouded in an English that is wordy, graceless and dead; nor is his prose made more lucid by unexplained expressions such as 'Patria cargoes' and 'Kamer Amsterdam', unusual terms such as 'dunnage' and 'spelter' and above all by the incorporation in his narrative of frequent and untranslated passages from Dutch sources.

St. Edmund Hall, Oxford

G. D. RAMSAY

THE PAUL'S CROSS SERMONS 1534-1642. By Millar MacLure. Toronto University Press: O.U.P. 1958. vii + 261 pp. 45s.

It is a curious testimony to the force of personality that the printing press has never superseded the human voice as an agent of propaganda, better fitted as it might seem to be to aid the meditation which produces conviction. In our own day the power of broadcasting and television proves this rule: in the days of Reformation controversy the sermons preached to largely illiterate audiences outside London's cathedral bore even greater witness to the power of the spoken word. Professor MacLure brings out well the way in which Paul's Cross was used as an almost unique instrument of government indoctrination of the populace in an age in which Church and State were almost indistinguishable in organization and policy. Like all such means of propaganda it was not indefectible: unwisely chosen preachers could and did sabotage the national party line and had to be answered, forced to recant or punished. Nevertheless in general the old preaching cross, of medieval or earlier origin, was the sounding board for the religious and political policies of authority, serving the purpose of a modern inspired daily press or official broadcasting station.

The more dramatic sermons preached there, such as Ridley's attempt to justify Lady Jane Grey's accession or Bourne's adumbration of the Marian

reaction, which ended in riot, are familiar to all students of the age. Professor MacLure attempts with great success a comprehensive study of the personalities and themes of the preachers and adds a most useful Register, occupying 72 pages, of the sermons of his period for which he has found contemporary evidence, either from published texts or from chronicle material. This last does not claim to be, and hardly could be, exhaustive, but it supplies a need not hitherto met. What emerges from it is a reminder of the controversial spirit of the age; the edificatory sermon is an exception and even this is too often a denunciation of sin rather than a setting forth of the love of God. That is regrettable rather than surprising, even though one wonders why, as in most ages, the clergy were so blind to the simple fact, enunciated by St. Francis de Sales, that more flies are caught by honey than by vinegar. Of more direct historical interest is the light thrown by this study upon the reactions of preacher and audience to contemporary events. (A fascinating example is provided by the sermons preached at the time of Essex's bid for power and execution in 1599-1601.) Our author devotes his long second chapter to this investigation, discussing in those which follow the sociological material to be found in the sermons and the homiletic methods and style which they reveal. As a Professor of English his interests are literary and ideological rather than historical, but only a narrow view of history could regard his book as of secondary importance for the historian proper. No one working upon this period can afford to disregard it.

Professor MacLure has a lively style and a penetrating mind which carries the reader along with him. He is a master of the phrase. (Witness his characterization of the Anglican Church as 'actually the most revolutionary of all the Reformed churches' which balances his more trite, although neat, description of the Elizabethan settlement as 'that triumph of expediency over all forms and conditions of zeal'. He is not more impeccable than most of us. For example, to assert that in the Sacrament 'was no substance but brede and wyne' is not necessarily to affirm Zwinglianism. Nor is he up to date about the problem of enclosures. But his study has an urbanity, a scholarly quality and a perceptiveness (displayed especially in the conclusion) which makes it a real contribution to the understanding of religious and social issues in an exceptionally tangled phase of English history.

University College, Oxford

THOMAS M. PARKER

STAR CHAMBER STORIES. By G. R. Elton. London: Methuen. 1958. 244 pp. 21s.

In the conciliar courts of the sixteenth century a procedure was adopted that has resulted in the survival of depositions by plaintiffs, defendants, and witnesses, describing fraud and violence in their own vivid words, scarcely veiled by the prosy circumlocutions of the lawyers and their clerks. This rich deposit of source material was first effectively tapped a few years ago by Sir John Neale when he revealed the remarkable scenes of deceit and mayhem that so often accompanied a disputed Elizabethan parliamentary election. Dr. Elton has now turned to the same material for the reign of Henry VIII, from which he has reconstructed half a dozen amusing and instructive anecdotes. Written in a brisk satirical style, his stories made excellent reading. They attract attention primarily because they satisfy the same curiosity about the absurdities of human behaviour that draw us to the Law Reports in *The*

Times today. But they also serve the useful historical purpose of bringing us in direct and intimate contact with the people and the conditions of the sixteenth century. It is one thing to be told in a text-book that the basic problem of the Tudors was the maintenance of law and order; it is another to read what this meant in practice in Dr. Elton's illuminating and entertaining pages.

Hard-headed and realistic though Dr. Elton is in almost all matters, here and there he seems to display his Achilles heel. Again and again he tries to turn his tales, often somewhat implausibly, into a triumphant vindication of Thomas Cromwell as a paragon of all the virtues. Now Cromwell was probably the most unjustly maligned statesman in our history and it is Dr. Elton who has set the record straight. It would be a great pity, therefore, if he failed to stay this side idolatry, and thus conjured up a new myth out of the ashes of the old.

Wadham College, Oxford

LAWRENCE STONE

Justices of the peace in Wales date only from 1536; Caernarvonshire is fortunate in having an almost unbroken series of quarter sessions records since 1541. A first volume of these records (to 1558) was recently published by the Caernarvonshire County Council, edited by W. Ogwen Williams. It contained an introduction by the editor which included a lengthy analysis of the historical setting of the documents. This section has now been reprinted as *Tudor Gwynedd* (63 pp.; 4s. 6d. Distributed for the Council by Messrs. Alec Tiranti, 72 Charlotte Street, W.1). It is undoubtedly the best discussion which has so far appeared of the change-over from medieval to modern Wales in the sixteenth century. Two points, in particular, emerge—that the legislation of Henry VIII had little effect on the social changes then taking place, and that the Act of Union made little change in the administration of the three shires which constituted Gwynedd, the old principality of North Wales.

University College of Wales, Aberystwyth

DAVID WILLIAMS

LA SEIGNEURIE DE GENÈVE ET LA MAISON DE SAVOIE DE 1559 À 1593.
Tome IV. LA GUERRE DE 1589-1593. By Alain Dufour. Geneva: Jullien.
1958. 260 pp. 25 Frs. sw.

Geneva preserved its precarious independence until 1798, when it was annexed by France; in 1815, for the first time, it became a full member of the Swiss Confederation. In the Middle Ages it was an episcopal city which, but for the Reformation, must have become part of the dominions of the duke of Savoy which surrounded it on all sides. The citizens, under Calvin, decisively rejected bishop and duke alike and with the indispensable help of an aggressively Protestant Bern set up a model Presbyterian polity.

Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy (1580-1630) tried repeatedly to regain possession of the city. He could count on the support of Philip II of Spain (his father-in-law), the Catholic States of Switzerland, and the Pope; he was opposed by the Protestant interests and by France. The story is thus part of the wars of religion and of the Counter Reformation; and this volume covers the really critical years, although Geneva was again in serious danger in 1602, when the Escalade ended in failure. In any attack upon an ally of Spain Geneva was assured of English sympathy after 1588 and of active French support, since Charles Emmanuel had invaded the marquisate of Saluzzo.

In the event, all that came from Elizabeth of England was fair words and some money collected in English churches for the defence of Protestantism, while Henry III was immobilized by the League, and Bern by the Catholic *Orte*. The Pope, Sixtus V, was not, however, anxious to see any extension of the power of Philip II, so that in the end Charles Emmanuel obtained no help from Rome and only some unruly and expensive armed men from Spain. His attention, too, was diverted to Dauphiné and Provence.

The course of the fighting south of Geneva and in the Pays de Gex, mostly small sieges and raids, the negotiations at Nyon in October 1589 from which Geneva was excluded, the blockade of the city, the suffering of the peasants, the promises of financial help (never fulfilled) by Henry IV and the final arrangement of a truce in 1593 (largely through Beza) are well expounded. It was the determination of the citizens of Geneva to maintain their independence, the strength of the city walls and the unwillingness of France and Protestant Switzerland to see this key to the Confederation in Catholic hands that saved the city. M. Dufour has worthily completed the survey started by M. Cramer, although unfortunately it has not been possible to publish the accompanying volume of sources, and the only map, indispensable for a full understanding of the text, forms a fragile and temporary dust cover.

University of Sheffield

GEORGE POTTER

A really important reappraisal of the reign of James I would demand more than a short notice in *History*. Mr. William McElwee's *THE WISEST FOOL IN CHRISTENDOM* (London: Faber. 1958. 296 pp. 25s.) does not, and it is difficult to explain its publication within two years of the appearance of Professor D. H. Willson's *King James VI and I*, to which it adds nothing. A little of the equivocal character of the king does emerge, but the account of the reign, both as narrative and analysis, is scrappy and superficial. Nothing, it seems, happened after 1603 in Scotland, Ireland or Wales. The 'Addled Parliament' is dismissed in a dozen insipid lines. Important constitutional issues such as the king's relations with his judges are barely mentioned. There are some loose generalizations—did every loyal Catholic in Europe regard Mary Queen of Scots as the rightful Queen of England in 1560? Mr. McElwee subscribes to the curious view that reference to sources is 'a tedious nuisance, even to the serious student'. He offers instead a thin and slipshod book-list. D'Erlanger's *Buckingham* may be the latest life of the gorgeous favourite—it is the last one would wish to commend. But a word or two of praise: the illustrations are well-chosen and the publishers have produced a handsome volume.

University College, Cardiff

IVAN ROOTS

Dr. Gordon Donaldson in *SHETLAND LIFE UNDER EARL PATRICK* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1958. 149 pp. 15s.) attempts to reconstruct the conditions and customs current in Shetland in the early years of the seventeenth century. He bases his study chiefly on the Court Book of Shetland for 1602–4, and he arranges his material under the general headings of (a) the Land, (b) the Sea, (c) the People and (d) the Law. The picture that emerges is controlled by the sources used, and inevitably it emphasizes unduly the processes of litigation and the less reputable aspects of life in Shetland, despite Dr. Donaldson's skill in extracting what information he can about the economy

and social structure of the islands. Even today the name of Stewart is hated in the Northern Isles, and Earl Patrick has a reputation second-to-none as a tyrant and oppressor. It is interesting, therefore, to note that Dr. Donaldson's researches suggest that his administration, 'while undoubtedly burdensome, was not oppressive in an arbitrary way', though it is agreed that he 'utilized every practice which put money into his pocket'. The implication is that the earl exploited rather than set aside the laws and customs of Shetland, a distinction which would have brought little consolation to those who suffered under his extortions. Even more interesting is the strength of the Scandinavian influence which still survived in Shetland after centuries of Scottish pressure. The legal system in 1600 was fundamentally Scandinavian, as was also the holding of land by udal right; Scandinavian customs and legal terms are prominent in the documents; and many personal names of Scandinavian type and origin occur, e.g. Jacob Erikson, Magnus Olason, Annie Olasdochter, Ingagar Manisdochter, Sinnie (ON. *Sunnifa*) Magnusdochter etc. These survivals testify to the strength and intensity of the Scandinavian settlement seven or eight hundred years earlier. They carry us back to a period which modern Shetlanders regard with greater pride than the 'reign' of Earl Patrick Stewart.

University of St. Andrews

F. T. WAINWRIGHT

THE INDEPENDENTS IN THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR. By George Yule. Melbourne University Press: Cambridge Univ. Press. 1958. viii + 156 pp. 21s.

In his 82 pages of text (there are 70 pages of appendices) Mr. Yule discusses one of the most important and also most baffling problems in seventeenth-century history. He considers it in three main stages: the nature and extent of religious Independency and the identity of its supporters; the connection between them and the political Independents in the Long Parliament and the parliamentary armies; the social and economic background of the latter together with their beliefs and commitments.

With the first he is eminently successful. The Independent ministers' mid-way position between the Presbyterians and the Sectaries is convincingly established. It only seems strange, in a discussion of 'non-' or 'semi-separating' congregationalism, not to find any reference to Professor Perry Miller's pioneer study, *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts*. And, one small query, items listed in the *Catalogue of the Thomason Tracts* (I, 27, 37-8) under August and October 1641 suggest that the Presbyterian-Independent religious controversy was brewing even earlier than Mr. Yule implies. Independency's appeal to the laity is also well explained: support from the wealthy and influential gave the movement a strength out of all proportion to the number of its adherents. Its defence of a decentralized parish system and its robust defiance of theocracy, whether Laudian or Presbyterian, made the Independent creed particularly attractive to those Erastian Calvinists among the gentry and merchants who disliked the radicalism of the (fully 'separating') Puritan Sects. All this is excellently done.

When Mr. Yule moves on to political history and to its social and economic ramifications, his touch is not always so sure. He shows that Professor J. H. Hexter's article on the 'Presbyterian Independents' ¹ slightly exaggerates the

¹ *American Historical Review*, vol. xlv, 1938.

number of political Independents who were elders of Presbyterian churches. And, more important, that in any case these elders were drawn almost exclusively from the conservative wing of the political Independents. Mr. Yule is able to show a genuine if imprecise distinction between conservative and radical political Independents; this is original and important. Unfortunately he seems to exaggerate the significance of his findings. It is not quite accurate to ascribe to Hexter the assertion that 'the big majority of Independent members of Parliament . . . were Presbyterian elders'. And in his own appendix on 'party supporters' Mr. Yule takes for granted the very distinction between religious and political Independents which Hexter's article helped to popularize. His own table shows 90 out of 232-3 political Independents who were sure or probable religious ones, and up to 116 or 119 others (the arithmetic in the text is not consistent) who might have been; at 50 per cent of the total, the various doubtful categories make exact political-religious correlations difficult. Mr. Yule has revised, but not refuted, the interpretation offered by Professor Hexter.

In his social study of the political Independents, Mr. Yule does some impressive demolition work: easy, on the Marxian assumption that they were the spearhead of the rising bourgeoisie; harder, and more valuable, on Professor Trevor-Roper's 'identification of the Independents with the declining gentry'.² But his own social classifications lead Mr. Yule into various difficulties. It is somewhat arbitrary to bracket 'lesser' and 'declining' gentry as if the two were synonymous categories; and to say that Professor Trevor-Roper 'defined the Independents as a social group consisting of the lesser gentry' is again a gloss on someone else's text. Quite apart from this, an income of £2000 a year (especially if it is thought of as coming from land alone) is a very high upper limit for 'lesser' gentry, and one which might well have left some of the proudest and most influential commoners in England below the line. And, although he is clearly aware of it, Mr. Yule does not grapple with the distinction between a classification in terms of wealth, or economic circumstances, and one in terms of rank, or social status. Nor does he appear to have investigated the age distribution of the political Independents (compare the striking evidence in Brunton and Pennington, *Members of the Long Parliament*). Finally the information about where they came from and where they were educated might usefully have been shown in another table. The only table in the book is terribly cramped and not very clear. In short, as a social analysis, Mr. Yule's study is fascinating, provocative, but sadly incomplete.

It remains to add a few minor points. Rather surprisingly Clarendon's opinions³ of Haselrig's religious and political affiliations seem to have been overlooked. John Fiennes, younger son of Lord Saye and Sele, married the daughter of one Thomas Hobbs of Amwell, Herts, not of 'Thomas Hobbes' [*sic*!]. No reference is given for the statement that Sir Henry Mildmay was in debt; he may have been, but the only two sources cited do not say so. And, lastly, there is no index.

This may appear to add up to a carping and over-critical review. It will seem faint praise to say that Mr. Yule's book is scholarly and well written. However, it certainly deserves to be judged by the highest standards; and it is

² *The Gentry, 1540-1640*, p. 34.

³ *History of the Rebellion*, Bk. viii. s. 260, Bk. xvi. s. 89.

bound to be disappointing when a historian who clearly might have made a major contribution produces something less. While Mr. Yule has mastered the religious aspects of his subject, his contribution to political and social history seems too much of a report of work in progress. Specialists cannot afford not to read this book with the closest attention; others who do so will certainly not be bored, but they may well end up almost as puzzled as when they started. The problem of the Independents is now less obscure than it was before, but it remains more obscure than it might have been had Mr. Yule done fuller justice to them—and to himself.

University of Manchester

G. E. AYLMER

THE DUTCH IN BRAZIL, 1624–1654. By C. R. Boxer. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1957. 327 pp. 42s.

Any book that Professor Boxer writes commands attention. His latest work is modestly addressed 'primarily to those readers who are interested in the bypaths (or even in the dead ends) of colonial history'. But, he adds, 'it may also appeal to those who are interested in broader themes, such as the interplay of racial and religious conflicts, or the influence of sea-power on colonial warfare'. And he is, of course, quite right. Five years ago, in *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602–1686*, he sketched, in three striking chapters, the struggle between Holland and Portugal in the south Atlantic. Now, in his usual vigorous style and with his usual mastery of the sources, he provides a definitive account of the rise and fall of Dutch imperial power in north-eastern Brazil. It is an exciting story. As Professor Boxer observes, 'A Dutch empire in the south Atlantic, which seemed on the verge of realization in 1644, did not come to fruition. But that failure was not a foregone conclusion, as is so often alleged. The epic struggle for Pernambuco, like the battle of Waterloo, was a "demmed close-run thing".' And while much has been written on this theme from the seventeenth century onwards—the *Historiografia e Bibliografia do Domínio Holandês no Brasil*, which Dr. José Honório Rodrigues compiled nearly ten years ago runs to 1098 items—Professor Boxer's distinctive contribution lies in his capacity to marry Portuguese to Dutch sources and 'to look at the evidence with fresh eyes'.

The story begins with the foundation of the Dutch West India Company in 1621 and a subsequent plan for the conquest of Brazil, of which the north-eastern captaincy of Pernambuco was then 'the richest sugar-producing region in the world and the most prosperous part of the Portuguese colonial empire'. The capture of Bahia in 1624, and its loss in 1625, Professor Boxer has described in greater detail in *Salvador de Sá*. But though the Dutch were never again able to take Bahia, they successfully established their footing in north-eastern Brazil in 1630 and their empire, by 1642, extended from São Luis de Maranhão to Sergipe del Rey. The man chiefly responsible for this expansion was Count Johan Maurits, who reached Recife as the first and only governor-general of Netherlands Brazil in 1637 and fell in love with the country at first sight. Maurits was an able soldier. But he was also a singularly enlightened administrator who 'spared neither his own energy nor the Company's money in his efforts to develop the colony' and gathered round him 'a carefully selected entourage of forty-six scholars, scientists, artists, and craftsmen from the Netherlands, all of whom had their own special functions and assignments'. And to the work of this 'humanist prince in the

New World' Professor Boxer devotes some of his most notable pages. After Maurits' recall—he left Brazil in 1644—a ten year struggle remained before the final Capitulation of Taborda of 26 January 1654, 'sealed the fate of Netherlands Brazil'. Even in 1651, in Professor Boxer's opinion, had Amsterdam been prepared to find the money for a blockade of the Tagus or an attack on Bahia, it is probable that Portugal would have been forced to abandon the defenders of her empire in Brazil. But Amsterdam was not so prepared, and after 1651 it was too late.

This may be a 'dead-end' of colonial history. But it is one which no colonial historian, and no seventeenth-century historian either, can afford to neglect.
University College, London R. A. HUMPHREYS

SPAIN IN DECLINE 1621-1700. By R. Trevor Davies. London: Macmillan. 1957. 180 pp. 25s.

A devoted and dedicated teacher, the author succeeded in embodying the findings of research in his most useful *Golden Century of Spain*. *Spain in Decline* is less successful. The basic research has not been done and on the political side the narrative is based largely on Hume, even to the extent of incorporating his errors. Although these are corrected in footnotes they inevitably strike a false note, for instance, in the account of the fall of Olivares. The real defect of the book emerges in its treatment of the economic decline of Spain. Apart from Hamilton's researches this work is based on contemporary accounts—unreliable and contradictory sources from which no satisfactory picture of an economy can be constructed without very careful critical consideration. *Empleomania*, unstable currency, absurd taxation and a reluctance to engage in productive work are blamed for the decline of Spain. Yet was *empleomania* a cause or a result of economic decline—the remedy for chronic under-employment rather than the cause of a shortage of labourers? It has always seemed to me doubtful how far down in Spanish society the hidalgo's scorn for productive work reached. Diplomats saw the dry centre of Spain, and an ignorance of the techniques of dry farming might well lead to verdicts about the laziness of peasants with swords at their sides to prove their noble birth. Travellers from the north were ignorant of a type of settlement in agricultural towns which always left the countryside comparable to 'the deserts of Libya or the great open spaces of Africa'. Had they seen the *huertas* of Valencia, the *vega* of Granada, the settled agriculture of Catalonia and the Basque Provinces? More important than aristocratic notions, inborn idleness or a taste for the superior status of a minor civil service job were the tenurial conditions of Galicia and most of 'dry' Spain, entail, the great frosts and droughts, the failure to invest capital in irrigation outside the old irrigated areas where it was comparatively easy and relatively cheap.

New College, Oxford

RAYMOND CARR

HEARTH TAX RETURNS, vol. I: HEMLINGFORD HUNDRED: TAMWORTH AND
 ATHERSTONE DIVISIONS. Edited by Margaret Walker; intro. by Philip
 Styles. Warwick County Records. Warwick: L. E. Stephens. 1958.
 xcvi + 433 pp.

The most useful functions a local record society can perform are to publish types of documents in which its own county happens to be particularly rich,

and to open up new veins in the huge deposit of local archive material. It cannot be said that Hearth Tax Returns are unknown since some form of publication has already been undertaken by ten counties. But the Warwickshire material is peculiarly abundant, which is the reason for embarking upon a project which, if pursued to the end on this scale, is likely to take some half dozen more stout volumes to complete. Surrey has compromised by publishing tabulated parish summaries and a full name index. Warwickshire publishes the basic returns of 1662 in full, with brief notes of changes made in subsequent returns and followed by a name index at the back. In addition this volume contains a long and valuable introduction by Mr. Philip Styles, which for the first time sets out in detail the administrative history of the tax from its inception in 1662 to its abolition in 1689.

The justification for so ambitious and so expensive a publishing project is its value to the historian, and it is worth while speculating briefly on the sort of information which it may be possible to derive from this seventeenth century *Kelly's Directory*. For two and a half centuries the Returns have been used for demographic purposes, though there can now be little doubt of their failure to cover fully the pauper class; tabulation of houses by the number of hearths would give a picture of social stratification and distribution of wealth; some idea may be gained of the relative comfort of the clergy, of the relative size of country houses, of the extent of absolute poverty, of the number and distribution of forges, and perhaps of social and geographical mobility between 1662 and 1674; and lastly the index will be an invaluable aid to genealogical research. It would seem, therefore, that despite its apparent extravagance the project is well worth while, and when it is finished will prove a useful historical tool for many purposes.

Wadham College, Oxford

LAWRENCE STONE

The Hudson's Bay Record Society has continued its admirable publications with an interesting volume of seventeenth-century letters, commissions and instructions, HUDSON'S BAY COPY BOOKE OF LETTERS OUTWARD 1688-1696, edited by E. E. Rich (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society. 1957. 357 pp.). No inward letters survive for this period, but the letters from the Company in London to its servants at Hudson Bay give a good picture of the Company's difficulties. There were the difficulties common to all joint-stock trading companies: private trade by company servants and interloping. There were the perils of war which led to the loss of forts and of ships to the French. Wartime inflation and bad harvests forced up the price of provisions and of the trade goods which were sent to the Bay. At the same time the price of beaver fell in England. Faced with this situation the Company tried to foster the re-export of beaver and to raise the 'standard of trade' (that is raise the amount of beaver exchanged by the Indians for a given quantity of European goods). It also tried to diversify the exports and the imports, but with little success. The 'jointed babie' sent out in 1690 could not divert demand from the staple exports of guns, hatchets, and tobacco. Nor did repeated requests for whale-oil, turpentine, tar, castoreum, sealskins, drugs, dyes, feathers for beds and quills, and metals succeed in displacing beaver as the staple import. These trading conditions naturally affected the Company's financial position. On this point the letters are silent, except for the usual grumbling about prices. Fortunately in his excellent Introduction Mr. K. G. Davies gives a

lucid analysis of the Company's finances, which enables the reader to fit the letters into the general picture of the Company's fortunes at this time. Professor Rich and the assistant editor, Miss A. M. Johnson, are to be congratulated on the production of a handsome volume, impeccably edited.

University of Manchester

T. S. WILLAN

Will Durrant's *THE REFORMATION, A HISTORY OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION FROM WYCLIF TO CALVIN, 1300-1504* (London: Angus and Roberston. 1958. xviii + 1025 pp. 55s.) is part VI of his *Story of Civilization*. He writes in a clear, concise and lively style but, in covering such an enormous field, he has had to rely heavily on general text-books, of which very few are of recent origin.

The adaptation of medieval castles to the needs of sixteenth-century warfare is a subject which has so far received little attention from either military or architectural historians. By his scholarly edition of the documents relating to *THE BUILDING OF CASTLE CORNET, GUERNSEY* (Manchester University Press. 1958. 109 pp. 18s.) between 1545 and 1634, Professor Le Patourel has provided valuable material both for the architectural history of this important castle and for the study of Tudor military architecture in general.

A valuable contribution to Danish rural history is made by Gunnar Olsen in his doctoral thesis on the development of large-scale farming in the period 1525 to 1774, *HOVEDGÅRD OG BONDEGÅRD* (København: Rosenkilde og Bagger. 1957. 401 pp. 35 kr.). By means of a 'Summary' in English, pp. 245-57, the results of the author's research is rendered accessible, chapter by chapter, to English readers. He traces back the beginnings of large-scale farming to the period before 1525, not only for crown and ecclesiastical land, but also in respect of noble land; he deals with the opposition, ineffectual for the most part, of the Danish parish-clergy to the movement towards large-scale farming as detrimental to the interests of the peasants.

ENGLISH WILLS, 1498-1526, edited by A. F. Cirket, and *DIANA ASTRY'S RECIPE BOOK c. 1700*, edited by Bette Stitt, are combined to make volume xxxvii of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society (1957. 199 pp. 25s.). Both sections, valuable in themselves, have also a good deal of light to shed upon the standard of living of the times. The editing and the (brief) introductions maintain the high levels set by the Society.

The Keeper of the Public Records is to be congratulated on the resumed publication of the important series of *ACTS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND, 1628 July-1629 April* (London: H.M.S.O. 1958. iv + 490 pp. £5 5s.). All students of English seventeenth-century history, especially those who cannot easily use the originals in the Record Office, will hope that publication of the registers may be continued. Like its predecessors, this volume contains a wealth of material on many aspects of Stuart government. But like them it has its limitations as a source, arising from the nature of the Council registers themselves. It probably contains more information not otherwise available in print about military organization and economic policy than about the constitutional conflict, for which the evidence here, though interesting, is mainly confirmatory.

LATER MODERN

THE TRADE OF BRISTOL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. Edited by W. E. Minchinton. Bristol Record Society's Publications, Vol. XX. 1957. xxv + 310 pp. 22s.

It is always difficult to lay down the criteria by which collections of documents should be judged. There will always be differences of opinion about the methods of selection and the numbers of documents printed. That Mr. Minchinton's selection may give some readers too much and some too little is unavoidable. It does not really alter the fact that he has provided a selection of original documents and data on Bristol's economic life that will be valuable to scholars, stimulating some to go and look for more, but at any rate enlarging and particularizing the knowledge of others. Statistics, commercial letters, legal and municipal documents and many other sources are set out with meticulous care and framed in an intelligent commentary based on much local research and general reading. The emphasis of this volume is on the private activities of traders. Readers will look forward to Mr. Minchinton's second volume on the institutional setting within which the merchants worked.

Jesus College, Cambridge

CHARLES WILSON

STRASBOURG IN TRANSITION 1648-1789. By Franklin L. Ford. Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1958. 321 pp. 55s.

There is an attraction in the history of march-lands which have been fought over for centuries. The upper Rhine was such an area of contention in the seventeenth and was to be again in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Professor Ford writes the history of Strasbourg in what for it were more peaceful times, but what lends fascination to his subject in that this was the period when the city developed its more recent dual personality. In 1681 Strasbourg was a German city of some 25,000 inhabitants, in economic, political and cultural decline. The government of Louis XIV, which was rapidly bringing Alsace under French administration, wanted Strasbourg primarily for military reasons. With the merest pretence at legality it was annexed by Louvois in 1681. At the same time Strasbourg was guaranteed its existing form of town government, the collection of its own revenues and freedom of worship for its people, almost exclusively Lutheran. On the whole the promises were kept, but in spite of this its history in the eighteenth century is one of the mainly unforced, but unavoidable, changes that overtook an ancient German Free City when it became a military and administrative provincial capital of the French monarchy. By 1789 the population had doubled, and the Catholics, who were practically non-existent in 1681, had a majority of some 3500. Although German was still the language of the town records, official announcements were in both French and German, and in language and culture Strasbourg was a city of two nationalities. In an age before nationalism had bedevilled the world this was pure gain. Strasbourg was none the less loyal to the French crown. The terms of loyalty were soon to change, but this is where Mr. Ford ends his story. He is to be congratulated on a book which gives us in the round a portrait of the government, economic life, social structure, religion, literature and culture of a key society in an age of fundamental change.

University College, London

A. COBBAN

THE ROYAL GENERAL FARMS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE. By G. T. Matthews. Columbia University Press: O.U.P. 1958. 318 pp. 45s.

There can be few fields of study more treacherous than the history of *ancien régime* finance. A lack of reliable information, which was one of the main problems facing even the Controller General of Finances, made the great mass of contemporary writing on the subject quite untrustworthy. Few historical studies have used these sources critically. The tax farms, as objects of popular hatred, were especially liable to misrepresentation and historians have been long in discovering anything like an accurate picture of them. As a result the history of the *Ferme générale* has been plagued by a failure to distinguish between its administrative organization, and the system of taxes which it collected. In this study of the structure and operation of the tax farms, Dr. G. T. Matthews has made this distinction admirably clear. He has shown that although the system of taxes was hopelessly confused, the *Ferme générale* was remarkably efficient in collecting them. Unhampered by venal offices, stimulated by the pursuit of profit, it became one of the most highly developed—in a sense most modern—administrative bodies under the *ancien régime*. Dr. Matthews is not primarily concerned with the politics of the tax farms, and yet he explains the political strength of the Farmers General by showing how they provided credit for the government and a mechanism not only for collecting taxes but also for making payments. He has succeeded incidentally in making many financial procedures of the time intelligible in modern terms.

The book is clearly written which, considering the problem of presentation, is remarkable; and yet the author's language, though rarely ambiguous, is often ponderous and awkward. For instance: 'The *gabelle*, at first only renovated and ameliorated were finally abrogated . . .' Several names and terms are consistently misspelled: Stroum for Stourm; d'Oremesson for d'Ormesson; *Entendu* des Cinq Grosses Fermes for *Etendu*; Lemoine de Brienne for Loménie. A more serious criticism is that no manuscript sources were used. The author, apparently unaware of the considerable resources of the 'G' series of documents at the Archives Nationales in Paris, offers the well-worn and inadequate excuse that the records of the Farmers General have been lost. In fact there is a great deal of manuscript material to be found in Paris and the provinces, much of which would undoubtedly supplement, for example, the statistics which he has taken almost entirely from Lavoisier's *Œuvres* and the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*. Nevertheless, this is the best book on the subject and will be of considerable value for historians of the *ancien régime*.

King's College, London

J. F. BOSHER

THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONIANS (SCOTTISH RIFLES), vol. i, 1689–1910, by S. H. F. Johnston (Aldershot: Gale and Polden. 1957. xvi + 308 pp. 25s.) tells of two regiments, formerly the 26th and 90th Regiments of Foot, which were rather oddly united as rifles in 1881. The 26th was raised during the 1689 Revolution in Scotland, the 90th in 1794 as part of the enlargement of the army in the early years of the French Wars. The earlier regiment was unusual in many respects, for it sprang from a lowland covenanting background of long-standing and bitter history, fought its first victory at Dunkeld against a superior Highland force and in its early days was under instruction to 'be much in private prayer' and 'abstain from sinful and scandalous

games'; Bibles and catechisms were common issue; drunkenness and swearing were flogging offences; for centuries even the sovereign's health was not drunk in Mess. The 90th, the Perthshire Light Infantry, was raised by that extraordinary character Thomas Graham, Lord Lynedoch. He never led his own regiment in action, but during his long life it saw service in Egypt under Abercromby, at Martinique and Guadeloupe, and later during the Kaffir Wars, the Crimea and the Indian Mutiny.

The chief criticism of this book as history must lie in the general proportions of the space allotted to various periods. Eleven pages cover the composite regiment, the Cameronians (Scottish Rifles), from 1881 onwards, including service at home and in India and the whole of the South African War. Considered as a regimental history, there is very little on recruiting, barrack life, uniform, and so on, while the few comments on weapons are unreliable; 'Brown Bess' is ascribed to 1856. There are no lists of colonels or officers and few 'states', while honours, losses and casualties are inconsistently recorded. However, Mr. Johnston spends well over a third of his 300 pages on the first twenty-four years of the 26th's existence, and this is the best part of a good book; the introductory chapter, on the covenanting background, is particularly brilliant. The documentation, largely from original manuscripts, is throughout much better than in most regimental histories, and he is especially fortunate that through the writings of the immortal Blackader, that godly soldier of the army which swore so terribly in Flanders, Colonel Cranston (killed while with the regiment at Malplaquet) and Ensign Colville, with other letters and papers, the Marlborough Wars are vividly illuminated from the regimental angle. Other later documents, manuscripts in regimental possession and the papers of Colonel Mountain give more personal spice and instance. A chapter of over twenty pages on the raising of the 90th is also drawn from an unusually rich collection of original sources, while both Wolseley and Evelyn Wood were officers of the regiment at eventful periods. In fact, what is well done is excellent.

T. H. MCGUFFIE

FIELD MARSHAL LORD LIGONIER. A STORY OF THE BRITISH ARMY 1702-1770. By Rex Whitworth. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1958. 422 pp. 42s.

The history of the British Army between Marlborough and Wellington has hitherto attracted little attention. It is therefore good to have this biography of Field Marshal Lord Ligonier. Born in France, later a Huguenot refugee, Ligonier saw service in the field or in military administration in all the campaigns in which the British Army took part from Marlborough's battles until the successful conclusion of the Seven Years War. And when he died, an Earl and a Field Marshal, at the age of ninety he had, as Lt.-Col. Whitworth says, established a claim to be considered 'as one of the great Chiefs of Staff'.

This is not a narrowly biographical study; nor is it by any means confined to a study of battles and military administration. There are, it is true, excellent accounts of—among other battles—Fontenoy, Dettingen and Rocoux. And there is, at intervals throughout the book, much valuable material on the administration of the army in the eighteenth century, although it is, in a way, a pity that this material has not been brought together in a single chapter.

In addition to all this, however, the author performs two other tasks of great importance. In the first place, and although he claims to have 'underplayed the political history of the time', he gives us a most useful study of the place of the army in the eighteenth-century system of patronage. He makes it clear, for example, just how far George II controlled appointments to commissioned ranks, both senior and junior; and he shows how the influence of Leicester House made itself felt in the same connection.

Secondly, we are given an excellent picture of the way in which eighteenth-century governments in Britain formulated their strategy for major campaigns. At no point is this picture more enlightening than when it shows Pitt and Ligonier together drawing up plans for fighting from 1758 onwards. It is a recurrent myth of strategic thought in this country that Britain can defeat her Continental enemies without paying the unpleasant price of fighting them on the Continent as well as in colonial theatres. Hence the dream of 'limited liability'. Marlborough knew better. So did Ligonier—and Pitt learned from him. 'Winning Canada in Germany' meant sending British soldiers to Germany, 20,000 of them, as well as paying mercenaries to fight under Ferdinand of Brunswick.

It is a pity that such a good book should be marred by some carelessness in the final stages. There are some misprints; for example, the note referred to on p. 162 actually appears on pp. 402–3, and not on pp. 186–7 as stated. Occasionally words are mis-spelt in a way that was clearly not intended. And the biographical details of Guy Carleton, later Lord Dorchester, appear in several places with unnecessary repetition, as though the author had forgotten what he had already written. But these are small and easily corrected faults in a book which is a welcome and valuable addition to the history of war and politics in the eighteenth century.

All Souls College, Oxford

N. H. GIBBS

The title of *THE BACKGROUND OF NAPOLEONIC WARFARE* by Robert S. Quimby (Columbia University Press: O.U.P. 1958. 385 pp. 60s.) is misleading. The contents are more accurately described by the sub-title: 'The theory of military tactics in eighteenth-century France'; which is a very different matter. There is nothing here about the problems of supply, organization, conscription and relationships with allies, neutrals, satellites and enemies, which the work should treat if it were to begin to earn its title. Mr. Quimby deals simply with the development of theories of tactics in the French army, from Puysegur and Folard at the beginning of the eighteenth century to the Ordinance of 1791 which established French tactical formations for eighty years to come, and in particular with the controversy between the protagonists of *l'ordre mince* and *l'ordre profonde* around which most of that development took place. In doing so he is following a trail blazed by the great Colin and his collaborators in the Section Historique, and it cannot really be said that he adds anything to their discoveries. Certainly he devotes far more space than did Colin to transcribing the detailed recommendations—and diagrams—of the theorists, and he gives a useful account from unpublished material of the experimental manoeuvres at the Camp of Vaussieux in 1778. Students without access to the texts of Guibert, Bourcet, Du Teil and the lesser writers of the period may be grateful for his plentiful quotations and paraphrases from their works; even though his translations from French are so

literal that one often has to put them back into the original before one can see what they mean. But with all his industry Mr. Quimby really tells us little more about the subject than can be learned from the far briefer and more readable essays in which Spencer Wilkinson and Liddell Hart have made Colin's work widely known. Only in the final chapter, in which the author confutes the wildly erroneous views of Sir Charles Oman on the tactics of Napoleonic infantry, does this book show traces of that purposeful questioning without which the most industrious research is a barren accumulation of facts.

King's College, London

MICHAEL HOWARD

BRITISH PUBLIC FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION 1774-92. By J. E. D. Binney. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1958. 320 pp. 45s.

The stresses of the American War of Independence led Englishmen to criticize the management of the nation's finances as well as its representative system; and it was in the former of these fields that substantial improvement was first made in consequence. Discontent provoked investigation, and official enquiries, set on foot by ministers and by parliament, produced voluminous reports as a basis for action. This formidable mass of material has now been thoroughly digested by a scholar who has brought to the task the additional asset of expertise in accounting. Dr. Binney conducts his readers, with skill and with a rare understanding, though the complex jungle of eighteenth-century revenue machinery and the cumbersome instruments of control in the treasury and exchequer departments. The fiscal policies of the period are elucidated, and the course of the public funds is traced, from the point where the money left the tax-payers' pockets to that at which payment for public services was rendered. By the late eighteenth century machinery and established policies were alike reaching the end of their usefulness. Much of the work of the exchequer was still conducted according to principles laid down in the twelfth-century *Dialogus de Scaccario*; and though the forms of the treasury and the revenue departments were much less antiquated, their efficiency left much to be desired: the American War proved to be the catalyst of reform. During most of the eighteenth century the funding system, perfected about the beginning of the Hanoverian period, enabled wars to be financed, not out of current revenue, but by loans, on which only the small percentage required for interest involved increased taxation. Even the American War was sustained by this method with fair success; but by 1797 it had proved inadequate in face of war on the scale encountered after 1793. As was natural, reforms were delayed until the pressure of circumstances proved irresistible. They were delayed also because those who held the power for change—even Pitt—were gentlemen amateurs rather than professional experts, and the expert assistants in the treasury and exchequer were too humble in status to be able to give an impulse to reforms in face of natural human inertia and the enormous respect still felt for precedent and for the exchequer branch of the common law.

Of the leading politicians involved in financial administration North emerges with credit from Dr. Binney's investigations, as one of the few eighteenth-century ministers exceptionally well fitted to deal with fiscal matters, capable of handling them with 'resourcefulness and a certain measure of originality', and in some respects both sounder in policy and more successful

in practice than his more famous successor, the younger Pitt. The crucial decision in 1780 to commence enquiries for the purpose of recommending reform was North's: 'North's contribution to reform seems to have been materially underestimated; it was in fact very real, and from a certain aspect, it was of unique importance'. Dr. Binney disagrees with the view held by some writers, that Burke's interest in reform was mainly political, and maintains that Burke was also deeply interested in administrative improvement: perhaps, here, the truth lies somewhere between the two extremes. Pitt's reputation as a financial administrator is confirmed, though due attention is paid to his limitations; and Dr. Binney admirably demonstrates the coherence of his fiscal policies, directed to one great aim, 'the sinking of the redeemable debt'. On all this side of Pitt's career this book provides valuable illumination.

University College, London

IAN R. CHRISTIE

THE END OF NORTH'S MINISTRY 1780-1782. By I. R. Christie. London: Macmillan. 1958. xiii + 429 pp. 40s.

The first part of this book is a brilliant Namier satellite. Mr. Christie's analysis of the House of Commons returned in the general election of September 1780 has the thoroughness and precision of its famous prototype. The general pattern of politics, as one would expect, remains the same although there are significant differences in detail. The general election of 1761 was necessitated by the demise of the Crown; that of 1780 was the result of deliberate timing by the government hoping to take advantage of the successes during the summer of the campaign in the Carolinas and of the discredit of the reformers at home following the Gordon riots. (The author is inclined to overstate the element of novelty involved in a premature dissolution; after all, the 1768 parliament had not been allowed to run its full course; North had seriously considered a dissolution in 1773 and he noted at the time (September 1774) that the dissolution 'greatly pleased everybody'.)¹ What was novel in 1780 were the fine calculations ranging over the whole electoral field of John Robinson, the Patronage Secretary. The event justified the government's decision—over a score of opposition members, including Burke himself, were unseated. The number of seats controlled by the government, with slight modifications, and the number of placemen and pensioners remained much the same, thus giving the lie to the Opposition's parrot cry, as reflected in Dunning's famous motion of the previous April, that the influence of the Crown had increased. It was in fact somewhat reduced. (At the time of Dunning's motion Mr. Harris had written to his son, the ambassador at St. Petersburg, that 'this was a question supported by no facts'.) On the other hand, by 1780, 'a Party in the Burke sense, had come into being': Mr. Christie's estimate of the strength of the Rockingham Opposition gives a figure of 72 and on this he adds the comment, 'uniquely formidable'. Then again the number of merchants in the House was considerably greater than in 1761 and the proportion of them holding government contracts was substantially less. Robinson in his evidence before the *Select Committee on Accounts of Extraordinary Services 1776-1778*, had stated that 'the Treasury knew that all contracts made by the Victualling Board were upon public advertisement'. Again, the 'electoral empires' of the Duke of Northumberland and Sir James Lowther were developments which had occurred since 1761.

¹ *English Historical Review*, April 1947, p. 224.

From this definitive analysis, Mr. Christie proceeds to examine in detail the circumstances which led to the fall of the North administration, using for this purpose the division lists of February–March 1782. In short, it was the news from Yorktown, not the activities of the Yorkshire Association, which by causing a defection of those traditional supporters of government, the independent country gentlemen, sealed the government's doom. But the manner of it is of singular interest. Bamber Gascoyne, a Lord of the Admiralty, remarked that 'an Administration is like a set of nine-pins. If you knock one down the others are apt to follow in succession'. And so it proved. At first, the Opposition made a dead-set at the 'nerveless' heads of the executive offices, first Lord George Germain at the War Office and then Sandwich at the Admiralty. That Lord North himself was spared as yet, reflects his unique standing in the Commons. 'There is not a man in the kingdom or in Europe', William Eden had told him in the summer of 1779, 'who doubts the extent of your capacity or thinks it not fully equal to the capacity of any Minister who ever existed': he assured him that he had not only 'the steady attachment of both king and parliament' but 'the personal good opinion of the Public'. North remains something of a psychological enigma. He had never cast himself for the rôle of a great superintending minister such as the times required. Eden had earlier accused him of allowing at least two-thirds of his time to be swallowed up in routine business 'of little detail' at the Treasury. Under the shock of national defeat his traditional supporters, the country gentlemen, became restive and sufficient of them deserted to tilt the parliamentary balance. Mr. Christie gives us a slow-motion picture of this process. 'It is doubtful if placemen had any particular significance in relation to the working of the parliamentary system at the close of North's ministry', he writes. More than a score of placemen M.P.'s, however, remained in office after his fall.

Mr. Christie's book will deservedly become the standard authority on this period. The present reviewer can add a footnote on the decision of the Duke of Portland's friend, John Christian, not to contest Carlisle in 1780: a wise estate agent and a shrewd elder sister did not share his youthful zest for politics—a salutary reminder that even in the eighteenth century politics were not everybody's game. Burke's fellow countryman, Rev. Philip Skelton, when asked to give his interest in a parliamentary election, declined on the ground that 'they are all a party of rascals and it is fit a rascal should represent them'.

University of Durham

EDWARD HUGHES

GEORGIAN OXFORD: UNIVERSITY POLITICS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

By W. R. Ward. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1958. 296 pp. 37s. 6d.

Drawing upon a wide variety of source material both printed and manuscript, including college and university archives, Dr. Ward presents an illuminating study of the reaction of political conflicts upon the life of the University from 1689 to 1780. During this near-century, vacancies in the Chancellorship, in headships and fellowships of colleges, and in professorial chairs, as well as the election of parliamentary representatives, all provided pretexts for bitter wrangling and competition over candidates backed by political factions and interests. Under William III and under Anne the University, mindful of James II's interference, was fulsomely loyal in its

politics. Dr. Ward presses the view that this prevalent 'Court Toryism' might easily have become converted to 'Court Whiggism' within a short time after 1714, had early Hanoverian ministries directed upon it the sunshine of court favour instead of hearkening to exaggerated charges of Jacobitism launched by a few place-hunting Whig extremists. He makes clear that by electing as Chancellor in September 1715 Lord Arran, brother of the previous Chancellor, Ormonde (who had fled to join the Pretender) the University took a fateful step which engendered suspicions and poisoned its relations with the government for a generation. But he has not consulted the unpublished Stuart MSS. in the Royal Archives and therefore possibly rather underestimates the extent to which a number at least of the leading personalities connected with the University were dipped in Jacobitism; there was, perhaps, in the government's suspicions of the University, more justice and less wrong-headed malice than he suggests.

University College, London

IAN R. CHRISTIE

BARON HUME'S LECTURES 1786-1822, vol. vi. Edited by G. Campbell H. Paton. Edinburgh: Robert Cunningham and Sons (for the Stair Society). 1958. xviii + 412 pp.

This volume completes the publication by the Stair Society of Hume's Lectures in Scots Law. Publication of the lectures started in 1939, and the present volume rounds off the series not merely by giving the final lectures, it also contains the index and tables of Statutes and Acts of Sederunt for the whole series, a short biography of Hume by the Editor, and a catalogue of the students of note who attended the lectures. That catalogue in itself gives some indication of the potential influence of Hume on Scots law. The list includes, apart from Lord Chancellor Brougham, two Lords President of the Court of Session, one Lord Justice-Clerk, twenty-six ordinary Lords of Session, and others such as Alison, Fraser Tytler or Cosmo Innes who achieved distinction in law otherwise than upon the bench.

The particular lectures here printed, do not perhaps show Hume at his best. They are concerned with procedural matters, probation, forms of decrees, the processes of review and various forms of diligence or execution. That subject matter can show Hume's 'sagacity and learning' upon which Hill Burton commented, but it is also calculated to bring out that dullness and dryness which helped to drive Carlyle (who sat under him) from the law. Even when Hume speaks of Patronage within the Church of Scotland there is no hint of the storms which that issue aroused, and it is perhaps typical that the lectures end without any peroration. Yet within them there is much for both lawyer and historian. The then relationship of the Court of Session to other courts is well brought out, and any account of personal diligence inevitably brings out and completes a picture of society and government.

It is fitting that this final volume should be marked by the biographical sketch. In that, Mr. Campbell Paton has managed to compress a very great deal. He covers Hume as a person, as a lecturer, unhappy struggle between the Town and University of Edinburgh in which Hume played a part, Hume's standing as a lawyer and his relationship with his contemporaries. All this is achieved in some ninety pages without the appearance of undue compression. The biography suitably crowns the careful labour that the

Editor has put into the whole series. Hume forbade the publication of his lectures, but his family agreed that his wishes should be overridden. Now that publication is complete many will be grateful for their decision.

University of Edinburgh

J. D. B. MITCHELL

THE GERMAN POLICY OF REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE 1792-1797. By Sidney Seymour Biro. In two volumes. Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1957. xvi + 1104 pp. £6.

These formidable volumes present an intimidating front to the reviewer. They are defended in depth by nearly five thousand footnotes, a sixty-two page bibliographical essay and forty pages of index; thirty years' single-minded and devoted study, we are told, have gone into them. Yet they are profoundly disappointing. One volume discusses the Convention and the other the first years of the Directory. Some fairly continuous threads are discernible; such are the wooing of Prussia, the preoccupation with the Rhine frontier and the sporadic bursts of revolutionary enthusiasm. These things have been said before, though perhaps never in such accumulated detail, and the book's only important new (and welcome) suggestions are about the economic considerations affecting French policy and about Hoche's behaviour in the Rhineland. The other topics on which Mr. Biro has new things to say are more trivial; they are listed by him in his introduction (pp. vi-vii). Most of the book amasses the results of work already elsewhere in print, and the author's own researches among the manuscript sources have, not unnaturally, failed to yield much in so well-trodden a field. Even where it claims to be new, Mr. Biro's work often relies on materials which have long been familiar (as he shows by his dependence on Aulard's *Actes du comité de salut public* for accounts of French public opinion).

Given its general dependence on earlier work, the imposing appearance of this book is perhaps misleading. Great play is made, it is true, with the correction of other historians, but Mr. Biro's own conclusions are not above reproach, and he concentrates so closely on Germany that we lose sight of the total context of French policy. He misses the significance of his own observation that 'All the secret articles [of the Preliminaries of Leoben] concerned Italy'. He is incorrect in saying that the idea 'that the Italian successes were but bargaining points in the negotiation to come' was a late development; it was embodied in Bonaparte's instructions soon after the invasion of Lombardy, as a glance at Debidour's collection shows. Nor was Campo-Formio obnoxious merely on diplomatic grounds; some members of the Council of Five Hundred also thought it immoral.

Mr. Biro's minute criticisms of his predecessors attract attention to some small unscholarly blemishes on his own book. His references to Napoleon's *Correspondance*, for example, are made unnecessarily confusing by a failure to stipulate which of the two editions he uses. The index seems defective; its only reference to the Cisalpine Republic (mentioned several times in the text) turns out on examination to be to a curious hybrid called the Cispadine. This lack of finish would be forgivable were it not for the ostentatious learning paraded in this book. It seems that Mr. Biro can leave out nothing which he has read. Why do we need the evidence of Cicero and the early Christians to show that it was not revolutionary France which invented the idea of a fundamental unity among mankind? Why do we need a potted biography

of Condorcet? Who cares that Thugut's family name began as 'Do-no-good' and probably arose during the Peasants' Revolt? Talleyrand's lameness and its possible origins are surely irrelevant to the purpose of this study, and so, one feels, is the ramble over Roman Gaul and the doings of Clovis which opens the book. Such digression clogs the arguments and wearies the reader. A high-flown and pretentious style is another handicap to understanding. Even if we accept words like 'interimistic' and 'revolutionization', what can be made of the description of Merlin de Thionville as 'the greatest alter ego' of the Convention? Nor is the meaning of 'a partial suicide' an obvious one. Of the dreadful puns in this book, one example must suffice: because Robespierre swallowed Fabre d'Eglantine's stories about the foreigners around Hébert, his resulting enmity to the aliens is described as 'Fabre-cated'. If this is the 'sustained high literary quality' to which the blurb refers it is unworthy of an academic press. The author's lack of a sense of proportion is also shown in the bibliography, which includes such works as *The New English Dictionary*, Muret-Sanders, a book on *The World since 1914*, three different translations of Tacitus, and the British Museum *Catalogue of Printed Books*. Although his book has value as a work of reference, it is not the 'master-piece of scholarship' which its publishers want us to believe.

Merton College, Oxford

JOHN M. ROBERTS

PETERLOO. THE MASSACRE AND ITS BACKGROUND. By Donald Read. Manchester University Press. 1958. ix + 235 pp. 30s.

THE CHARTIST CHALLENGE. By A. R. Schoyen. London: Heinemann. 1958. viii + 300 pp. 25s.

These two books deal with different aspects of Britain's nineteenth-century Radical tradition. Mr. Read has set himself the task of re-discovering the exact details of the Manchester and South Lancashire scene which was allowed to degenerate into the bloody squalor of Peterloo. He prefers, when he can, to deal in hard facts and figures, so that he has gone to the length of finding and re-printing a list of the professions and trades of 101 members of the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry, with 13 publicans, 7 butchers and 7 cotton-manufacturers to head the occupation quotas of those enforcers of law and order. A similar occupations-list of witnesses at the Peterloo Trials has also been sought out, and, perhaps, amid more lists of places, names and societies, the most unusual, in a work of this description, are those of the price-rises and falls, between 1810 and 1819, in cotton products and staple foods. Obviously Mr. Read would rather be charged with over-fussiness than with having omitted any factor of the slightest relevance to his theme.

There is, naturally, a good deal of attention to the local Press; there is an examination of many individual records of importance, including those of the group of middle-class Radicals who were laying the foundations of what became world-famous, before long, as the 'Manchester School'; and there is even a treatment of the Sunday School statistics with a view to establishing the relative weight and success of Anglican and Dissenting organizing power and will. One of Mr. Read's most important conclusions is that Lord Liverpool's administration had counselled moderation and caution to the local authorities though, after the bloodshed, it held itself bound to stand by them despite their blunders. Another and more surprising conclusion is that much Manchester opinion, by 1820, was almost as hostile to the agitators who had

collected the masses of 16 August 1819 as to the Yeomanry who had ridden them down. Manchester's Methodism seems to have been of importance here as well as that important section of middle-class opinion which, as not fully committed to High Toryism in Church and State, Mr. Read finds it convenient, again and again, to dub as 'Pittite'. It may be safely concluded that Mr. Read's book is worthy to stand beside such a predecessor in its own series as Mark Hovell's *Chartist Movement* and to have a place, in studies of the post-Waterloo years, alongside Wickwar's *Struggle for the Freedom of the Press*.

In the second work Dr. Schoyen really writes a biography of a secondary Chartist figure, George Julian Harney, whose life-span, extending as it did from 1817 to 1897, allows some interesting opportunities to a researcher as painstaking and pertinacious as his biographer. The son of a poor ex-seaman, Harney seems to have got some schooling at the expense of Greenwich Hospital, and this ultimately stood him in good stead when, after working as a cabin-boy and a pot-boy, he became, in succession, the shop-boy of Henry Hetherington of the famous *Poor Man's Guardian*, a seller of the 'unstamped Press' on his own account (suffering three imprisonments between 1834 and 1836), the founder of the East London Democratic Association of 1837 and, in 1839, the youngest and extremest member of the Chartist Convention. For the next fourteen years, as orator and journalist, Harney held a prominent place in the Chartist movement, graduating, finally, not merely to the editorship of the *Northern Star* but to the editor-proprietorship of the *Democratic Review*, the *Red Republican* and the *Friend of the People*, periodicals which, between 1849 and 1853, made him of some importance to the many refugees from Continental 'reaction' then in London, of whom the best-remembered today is Karl Marx. There followed further journalism in Newcastle and Jersey during the 1850s and 1860s, a long emigration to the United States, and a final return to Britain to write regularly for the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* till his death. As a veteran of struggles in the earlier part of the century, Harney had a name and recollections that were widely appreciated in the 1880s and 1890s, and his biographer has found his Radical editor permitting him hearty assaults on the 'Grand Old Man' which would, doubtless, not have been allowed to any other contributor. 'The Grand Old Mountebank', 'The Grand Old Maniac' and 'The Grand Old Politically Defunct' were three of the brick-bats hurled at Gladstone by one who had none of the awed reverence for Gladstone's exercises in politics or theology that was shown by a later Radical generation but rather, it would seem, a sympathy with Chamberlain's type of contempt for the flabbier aspects of 'Little Englandism' whether revealed in Imperial or Irish policy. This volume is a worthy addition to the Kingswood Social History Series.

Wolsingham Secondary School

S. MACCOBY

THE POLITICAL USES OF HISTORY: A STUDY OF HISTORIANS IN THE FRENCH RESTORATION. By Stanley Mellon. Stanford University Press: Oxford University Press. 1958. 226 pp. 40s.

That the men of the Restoration were historically minded and that the writing of history in France during that period was a function of politics is a thesis which scarcely needed demonstrating. But in reasserting it Mr. Mellon has also carried out a clearly martialled and often penetrating analysis of

some of the historical writing of the time. This is the more useful because the analysis is not carried out *in vacuo*, but is constantly related to the fortunes of the political parties and to the development of similar or further historical arguments in the Chambers, in the press, and in university lectures. The great subject of historical controversy was of course the French Revolution which the Liberals strenuously sought to justify and indeed to 'sell'. How successful they were is well known. Less well known perhaps is the extent to which they used historical argument to split the conservative coalition in 1825 and this is the subject of Mr. Mellon's culminating chapter. Partisan though their work was, it none the less represented a considerable achievement of historical enquiry and re-examination, and, in the hands of the best of them, this later became more dispassionate. But, as Mr. Mellon rightly recognizes, the achievement was primarily due to their Liberal commitment. What he seldom indicates, however, is the relative importance of the works to which he refers. Seen in retrospect, the works of Billecocq, Agoult, Baillot and others may have added interesting points to the debate, but which of them sold best and really had influence at the time? This may not always be easy to assess, but it would certainly be useful to know. Finally, when Mr. Mellon produces his intellectual biography of Guizot, which it is good news to know that he is writing, may we hope that he will put his footnotes at the bottom of the page? It is exasperating to have to hunt at the end of the book for every reference.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

J. P. T. BURY

In his *SOURCES OF AUSTRALIAN HISTORY* (Oxford University Press (World's Classics), xii + 622 pages, 1957. 9s. 6d.) Professor M. Clark has followed up his longer volumes of Australian historical sources with a short version for the World's Classics. The scope is not quite the same, and libraries which possess the longer volumes will be well advised to buy this one too. It will be found adequate on the explorers, the convicts and the gold rushes, and especially useful on the period of colonial and post-colonial politics (between 1850 and 1914) which Australian historians and political scientists are just beginning to understand. It is fuller on political history than on social, and fuller on social than on economic. British readers should be warned that the editor's suggestion that the book is meant for school-children rather than for university students may be applicable to Australia, but is certainly not applicable here. Its main scholastic use here will be by undergraduates. But it also has charms for the general reader who knows something of Australian history.

University of Leicester

J. D. B. MILLER

Giles St. Aubyn is only partially successful in showing that H. T. Buckle was indeed A VICTORIAN EMINENCE (London: Barrie. 1958. 229 pp. 25s.). It is easy to accept that Buckle was a master of chess, but more difficult to discern an intellectual giant in the erudite but retiring man who dazzled his circle of womenfolk by his conversational brilliance. Mr. St. Aubyn's method of compilation produces in the first half of this book an adequate account of Buckle's life, uneventful until his last, flannel-clad, journey into Egypt and Syria, and this will be found handier than the nineteenth-century lives. But the same method applied to the study of Buckle's *History of Civilization* and

its critics, in the second half of the book, is not suited to the aim of establishing Buckle's place in the history of ideas or of historiography. Here the comments and analysis of Leslie Stephen, for example, remain of more service.

University College, London

F. M. L. THOMPSON

DEAN CHURCH: THE ANGLICAN RESPONSE TO NEWMAN. By B. A. Smith.

Oxford University Press. 1958. xiii + 334 pp. 30s.

Despite its unfortunate sub-title, this book happily is not devoted to religious controversy. It is an objective study of one of the greater figures of Victorian England, whose own innate modesty has caused historians to underrate him. Nevertheless Mr. Smith does perhaps draw too absolute a contrast between Church and Newman, the friend he always revered even when they became divided in allegiance. Church no doubt has the stronger sense of the ceaseless flux of time and the relativity of the passing moment; as he said, 'The present is a bad judge of everything but its own duty.' He is, as his biographer well says, the supreme example of the fact that 'when, in any society, the intellectuals and others are being demoralized by the collapse of old bulwarks the coolest men are those with the historical outlook'. But Newman (as Dr. Owen Chadwick has shown in his recent Birkbeck Lectures, *From Bossuet to Newman*) was by no means devoid of historical sense. The author of the *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* hardly could be so; he was no 'Ideal Ward'. The greatness of Church needs no dialectical balancing against that of his friend and hero for its support. Mr. Smith has written a useful book, even if, when compared with earlier biographies, it adds little to our previous knowledge, for his use of the Gladstone papers hardly substantiates his claim that they 'augment considerably the total picture of the man'. It is good to have a fresh discussion of the Dean's life and thought, even if the estimate is turgid and sometimes falls to the commonplace. Not everyone, for example, would agree with the author's dismissal of the later Gladstone as wrongheaded and some would think Church's growing political estrangement from him, which so much resembles Queen Victoria's, more a criticism of the Dean than of the statesman. One notices rather more misprints than one expects from the Oxford University Press.

University College, Oxford

THOMAS M. PARKER

OXFORD COMMON ROOM: A STUDY OF LINCOLN COLLEGE AND MARK PATTISON.

By V. H. H. Green. London: Edward Arnold. 1957. 336 pp. 30s. JOWETT. By Geoffrey Faber. London: Faber. 1957. 456 pp. 30s.

T. H. Huxley once said that people who talked about the comforts of belief appeared to forget its discomforts, but to most of his generation the breach with dogmatic Christianity involved personal agony, as well (if it became publicly known) as unpleasant social consequences. Mid-Victorian Liberalism was not the easy, pleasant creed of Macaulay and if it had to be practised in the old universities another complex of conflicts was to be reckoned with.

Both Jowett and Mark Pattison were, in this sense, victims of their time; and their careers, each of them including initial failure and ultimate success in obtaining the headship of an Oxford college, are superficially similar. The similarity withers under analysis. For the last twenty-three years of his

life Jowett presided over a college whose growing reputation was indissolubly linked with his name, and died, with no great pain, after a life which on his death-bed he described as happy and thanked God for. Sir Geoffrey Faber repeatedly emphasizes Jowett's 'serenity'. It was a hard-won attribute, in part the fruit of not pushing things to extremes, of minimizing risks. When Jowett was required by the Vice-Chancellor to re-subscribe the Articles he took what he called the 'meaner part' and signed; he could not do otherwise, he said, without giving up his position as a clergyman. He contributed publicly to a fund raised for the defence of the heretical Voysey but advised Voysey to resign in view of the certainty of his conviction. He fully sympathized with Colenso but gave him only a half-hearted support. He never married; he never fell 'in love' (allowing for the innumerable meanings of that expression and for his friendship with Florence Nightingale); he pursued no physical recreations. But his serenity was not merely the product of unheroic caution. He knew and practised the discipline of work. 'The class matters nothing,' he told an idle undergraduate. 'What does matter is the sense of power which comes from steady working.' Such words could change the course of a young man's life. Jowett thought it right that good work should win material rewards but only in a caricature can he be presented as inculcating a purely materialistic attitude in his pupils: the typical product of his Balliol was not the cabinet minister but a member of that hard-worked and not over-rewarded body, the Indian Civil Service.

Still, at first sight, one is more sympathetic towards Mark Pattison; a man who gave far more hostages to fortune. He had a feeling for pure scholarship far deeper than Jowett's; he threw himself, heart and soul, into Tractarianism; he married; near the end of his life he formed a passionate friendship with a girl nearly forty years his junior. And nearly everything went wrong. The rectorship of Lincoln which he had so avidly desired became to him little more than dust and ashes and if the college made progress he did not inspire it. Increasingly he felt out of sympathy with the Liberal Oxford he had helped to bring into existence; his marriage proved in every way sterile, even hateful. 'All thoughts to rouse the heart are here and all are vain.' His last days were ghastly, days of rage and terror and pain: 'the moral ruin', his wife wrote, 'is awful'. Three years earlier Pattison had written: 'Man is an energy which has a given time on which to spend itself, and in the spending of that energy is his life.' Arid though the doctrine was it might have connoted a stoicism deserving at least of respect. But Pattison was no stoic. Although on rare occasions capable of magnanimity (towards Rhoda Broughton, for example) he usually judged men and women by the extent they did or did not waste his time, opposed or forwarded his ambitions, appeased or exacerbated his raging egocentricity and his morbid self-pity. His chagrin at being passed over for the rectorship of Lincoln in 1851 led him to support the election of a man he despised and afterwards described as 'nothing better than a satyr'. His references (which Mr. Green does not mention) to Conington and Travers Twiss in his *Memoirs* are indefensible. It did not need much generosity to speak well of Twiss, involved in sudden and unmerited ruin, but there was a meanness and malignancy in Pattison which prevented him from displaying it. Few men, probably, have led so unhappy a life as he; few, one is tempted to add, bore unhappiness worse or deserved it more. There may have been an embryonic Pattison far greater

and deeper than Jowett; but better for himself and the world at large were Jowett's calculating acquiescences and his prudent evasions.

Mr. Green's book is exceptionally harmonious and well-balanced. As clear as his portrait of Pattison is that of Edward Tatham, Rector of Lincoln from 1792 to 1834; the stubbornest of Tories, opposed to reform and reformers on principle but occasionally driven into empirical reforms by his energy and impatience; incapable of self-criticism and almost incapable of distinguishing between his public duties and his private interests; cantankerous to a degree yet not wholly unlikeable because both his merits and defects had an earthy simplicity. But Mr. Green's supreme merit is the unobtrusive way in which he contrives, while painting the picture of a small society immersed in its domesticities, its common-room wine, its common-room bets and jokes, to show also the forces which were to change that society almost beyond recognition. There are one or two small errors: Bodington was not and could not be Vice-Chancellor of Owen's College and T. E. Espin's second name was Espinell, not Espinelle—at least it was in the burials register of my parish where I can just remember him as a beneficent figure.

Sir Geoffrey Faber's book is more of a biography than Mr. Green's and much longer. There are many good things in it. His description of Jowett's mastership is probably all the better because he is not concerned to find some simple, single nostrum which Jowett administered to the undergraduates of Balliol. 'All that he taught any of them was the simple duty of stretching their own minds.' Yet it would have been as well to meet and consider Goldwin Smith's judgement: 'There was no clinch in his mind. He doubted and would have kept other people doubting forever.' The constant risk of something that could be called martyrdom to which such a man as Jowett was exposed is very properly emphasized by Sir Geoffrey, who observes that 'there is no martyrdom in modern Oxford for the holder of any opinion'. Repeatedly one comes across remarks and descriptions not easily forgotten, such as that on Almond of Loretto as one who combined 'a boyish temperament with a semi-adult brain'.

But although *Jowett* is a book which may gradually grow in interest it is disappointing on a first and even on a second reading. For one thing it is much too long and goes into far too much detail to give a clear and memorable impression. Perhaps Sir Geoffrey is too much concerned with the (probably unanswerable) question, whether Jowett was a 'great man'; perhaps his anxiety to show that Jowett's earlier life has been imperfectly understood because, of his official biographers, Campbell was subordinated to Abbott, distracts the reader. More certainly Sir Geoffrey's interest in the younger days of Jowett leads him far into the fields of speculation. This is especially true of Chapter V, largely devoted to guesses about Jowett's knowledge of homosexual practices at St. Paul's and at Balliol. The basis for these speculations is of the slightest, such as a reference by Mrs. Butler to 'an outbreak of abnormal immorality among a few of the young men in Oxford'. To take this, as Sir Geoffrey does, as 'evidently' a reference to homosexuality is so dangerous that it discourages one from reading what follows. There is one further matter for criticism, a fallibility on questions of ecclesiastical history and controversy. The description of Henry Venn as 'the . . . celebrated disciple of John Wesley' will not commend itself to historians. Still less can they approve of the statement that 'the fight, then [c. 1840], was between the orthodox evangelicals

and the Tractarians'. Even as late as 1840 an 'orthodox evangelical' was almost a contradiction in terms. Ecclesiastical politics in the 'polemical' period were more complicated than Sir Geoffrey appears to contemplate.
King's College, Newcastle upon Tyne W. L. BURN

THE EUROPEAN POWERS AND THE GERMAN QUESTION, 1848-1871. By

W. E. Mosse. Cambridge University Press. 1958. ix + 410 pp. 50s.

The sub-title of this book runs 'with special reference to England and Russia' but of course there is necessarily also much about France and Austria. Dr. Mosse has had, therefore, to make a brave effort to compress an immense subject within the covers of a single volume. For he has not only surveyed in some detail the attitude of the Great Powers from 1848 but in the later part of the period made considerable researches into manuscript sources. If the result is not entirely satisfactory, it is because a general survey of a period, and intensive and detailed research into some aspects of it, require different kinds of organization and display. If the more detailed research in the unpublished material had been put into two or three articles and the survey then made in the light of their new information, we should have had a more balanced and readable book. As it is the limitations of space have sometimes caused Mr. Mosse to relegate to the footnotes important observations which should have appeared in the narrative. Nor are the references in the notes easy to follow because of the frequent use of *op. cit.* and *ibid.*, a practice against which there ought to be penal legislation.

However, we must all publish as the opportunity affords and Mr. Mosse has added considerably to our knowledge of many controversial problems in the later part of his survey in which he has used the Public Record Office, the Vienna Staatsarchiv, the Royal Archives at Windsor, the private papers of Palmerston, Clarendon and Russell and the late G. B. Henderson's transcripts of other material in German archives. He has also used the Gorchakov correspondence with Olga Nicolaevna in the Wurtemberg archives besides the Russian printed material. This is a goodly list and the book will always repay careful reading by specialists and give all readers interested glimpses into the intricacies of the complicated diplomacy of these years.

On the whole the new material, interesting and illuminating as some of it is, does not alter very much what may be called the traditional view of the course of events. Russian policy was determined by her position in Poland and the Black Sea and her fear of revolution. What is revealed is that there were more serious fluctuations in her policy in the later years than had been realized. For example Dr. Mosse shows the persistence of the Russian effort to bring about the mediation of all the great powers after the Prussian victory in 1866 and throws a new light on the similar attempt made in 1870. But it was never intended to press these proposals with any show of force; Russia's contribution to the Prussian victories by her containment of Austria was still the most important part of her policy.

There is less new information about British policy, which has been more extensively studied by Western historians. In discussing the Hohenzollern candidature Dr. Mosse goes so far as to say (in a footnote) that 'Clarendon's almost incomprehensible negligence had thus not a little to do with the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war'. This judgement, if made at all, should have

been given prominence and proof in the main narrative. But British policy was determined in the late sixties by the new spirit of non-intervention. Pusillanimous ministers like Stanley and Granville expressed a popular sentiment. Goschen, as Dr. Mosse shows, was the only minister to support Gladstone when he wished the great powers to intervene to save Alsace-Lorraine. Only as regards Belgium was there any possibility of this outlook being changed and Belgium was thought to be in greater danger from Napoleon III than from Bismarck.

Thus the two main interests of Russia, Poland and the Near Eastern Question, and the main interest of Britain, Belgium, so far from being threatened by a Prussian victory were in a sense protected by it. Both Gorchakov and Gladstone realized something of the dangers which the Prussian triumph had brought to Europe; but in any case neither Russia nor Britain were in a position to make any serious challenge to Prussia at this time. They both in fact soon began to court the victor. Dr. Mosse has shown us in this comprehensive and documented survey why and how they behaved as they did.

CHARLES K. WEBSTER

MARX, PROUDHON AND EUROPEAN SOCIALISM. By J. Hampden Jackson. London: English Universities Press. 1958. 192 pp. 8s. 6d.

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL: MINUTES OF THE HAGUE CONGRESS OF 1872. Edited by Hans Gerth. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1958. 315 pp. \$6.

GERMANY AND THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA, 1915-18. Edited by Z. A. B. Zeman. Oxford University Press. 1958. xxiii + 157 pp. 25s.

THE SEIZURE OF POLITICAL POWER. By Feliks Gross. New York: Philosophical Library. 1958. 398 pp.

Mr. Hampden Jackson has had the excellent idea of contributing to the 'Teach Yourself History' series a volume on nineteenth-century Socialism built round the contrasting characters and careers of Marx and Proudhon. No author could possibly make Marx sympathetic, and it is difficult to dislike Proudhon however much one may be irritated by his occasional intellectual indiscipline. After almost a century, it is clear that it was the 'unscientific' socialism of Proudhon which offered some hope of bettering the human condition, and the 'scientific' socialism of Marx that was destined to be transformed into a monstrous obscurantism. Mr. Hampden Jackson's admirable little book helps one to see why.

The Hague Congress of the First International in 1872 is known in socialist history as the occasion upon which Marx, in the interests of maintaining the unity of the International and his own control, gave it its death-blow by securing the transfer of its headquarters to New York. For an account of this, historians have previously had to rely on the report of Maltman Barry, who covered the conference for the conservative *Standard*. Mr. Gerth has now discovered a copy of the Minutes written in German, possibly by Sorge, and these are printed in this volume together with Sorge's report to his North American associates in the movement. A facsimile is provided of the Minutes and a full English translation is given. The proceedings of the conference were largely taken up with challenging the credentials of various delegates.

Mr. Zeman's valuable collection of documents from the German archives illustrative of German-Russian relations between the beginning of 1915 and June 1918 has had a curious reception in some quarters. Mr. Zeman, in the course of an introduction far too brief for the significance of the material he presents, points out quite rightly that wartime propaganda distorted the real issues in German-Russian relations and that it is obviously quite wrong to describe Lenin and his associates as 'agents of Germany'. This has been taken as suggesting that the documents disprove once and for all the accusations that the Bolsheviks were in receipt of German financial assistance. On the contrary, as Mr. Leonard Schapiro points out in a letter in *The Times Literary Supplement* (22 August 1958), the documents when taken in conjunction with other material strongly support the presumption that the funds which were so abundantly available to the Bolsheviks after the February Revolution came from German sources. German activity in support of subversive movements in Russia goes back to almost the beginning of the war, and the celebrated episode of the 'sealed train' which enabled the principal Bolshevik conspirators to get back to Russia was not the product of a sudden impulse but in line with a definite policy consistently pursued in the highest circles of the German government. Nor did German activity cease with the Bolshevik triumph and the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk peace: there are fairly firm indications in the documents that more money was spent in order to prop up the Bolshevik regime and frustrate efforts to bring Russia back into the war on the side of the Entente. Of course, this does not mean that Lenin's ultimate purposes were the same as those of the German government and General Staff, but only that each saw an immediate advantage in accepting the assistance of the other—Lenin to seize and retain power, the Germans to get their one-front war.

Professor Gross's book is wider in scope than its title suggests, in that he is concerned to discover the circumstances under which revolutionary movements arise in modern societies, the techniques they adopt in order to seize power and the social and psychological consequences of their activities. He ranges fairly widely both in the historical and the geographical sense, but the core of the book deals with the Russian revolutionary movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with particular attention to their views about the use of violence and terror. There is little that is unfamiliar in it. The reader is likely to be put off by the author's inadequate command of the English language, and the poor proof-reading and ugly appearance of the book itself.

All Souls College, Oxford

MAX BELOFF

BISMARCK AND THE HOHENZOLLERN CANDIDATURE FOR THE SPANISH THRONE. Edited by Georges Bonnin. Translated by Isabella M. Massey, with a foreword by G. P. Gooch. London: Chatto and Windus. 1957. 312 pp. 42s.

This is a collection, admirably edited and with much supplementary material, of some 300 documents which were kept secret by the German Foreign Office until they fell into Allied hands in 1945. Secrecy was due in the first instance to Bismarck; on 16 July 1870, on the eve of war with France, he lied like a statesman when he denied in the *Bundesrat* any participation by the Prussian Government in the negotiations which led to the offer of the Spanish Crown

to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern. He repeated this denial in his memoirs, published in 1898. But he had in fact been the main instigator of the candidature at every stage.

The diplomatic lie may be a wise expedient, a pleasant help in time of trouble, but in modern international politics the truth can seldom be concealed for long; alternative sources are available, and the historian soon begins to ferret around. As early as 1873 Antonio Piralá, in his *Historia Contemporánea*, published important details from the Spanish archives; in 1894 further details appeared in the biography of Prince Charles of Rumania, drawn from the Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen archives. Keudell in 1901 gave some new information about the famous Crown Council of 15 March 1870, whose existence Bismarck had also denied. The German Foreign Office continued to believe that publication would be an irreverence towards Bismarck and would not only demolish the official fiction but would be a gift to French war-guilt controversialists. A succession of German writers and historians, starting with Sybel in 1890, were denied access to the official papers or persuaded to keep silent. It was, however, a German historian, Hermann Hesselbarth, who got hold of and published in 1913 the telegrams of the Spanish negotiator, Eusebio Salazar y Mazarredo, with Bismarck. Other bits of the story leaked out; all the essential details were known by 1914. The Weimar and Nazi governments nevertheless maintained the ban, excluding even Dr. Thimme, editor of the *Grosse Politik*.

The book is, then, a confirmation rather than a revelation; sixty years ago it would have been a sensation, today it is a valuable work of reference for the professional historian. Although some of the documents are already known, others are new, including, for example, Prince Karl Anton's detailed minute of the Crown Council of 15 March. But the most important is undoubtedly the diary of Bismarck's secret agent, Major Max von Versen, which Colonel von Werthen tried unsuccessfully to publish in 1897. It is here that we get a positive answer to the final question: what was Bismarck really after? Was the candidature, like the Ems telegram, a red rag for the Gallic bull? Bismarck never says so in as many words. With his usual virtuosity he gave the King of Prussia on 9 March a number of highly respectable reasons for the acceptance of the Spanish throne—improved Spanish-German trade relations, the dynastic cause generally, the strengthening of peace by the diversion of French forces, and so on. The King's minutes on this document, which are printed for the first time, show that he was unconvinced. But from Bismarck, on this and other occasions, there was not a word about provocation, or a desire for war: and as he cannot possibly have failed to anticipate that the French might react as they did react, the omission is in itself no doubt revealing. But Versen seems to let the cat out of the bag. He was employed from 18 May onwards to overcome the final hesitations of the Sigmaringen family; and when Karl Anton asked him on 19 June whether the candidature would not give rise to complications with France he replied promptly, 'Bismarck says that is just what he is looking for'. This should be enough.

London School of Economics

W. N. MEDLICOTT

THE EMBASSY OF SIR WILLIAM WHITE AT CONSTANTINOPLE, 1886-1891.

By C. L. Smith. Oxford University Press. 1957. xi + 183 pp. 25s.

The study of western diplomacy at Constantinople during the decline of

Turkey in Europe is usually baffling and often frustrating. Yet it continues to attract writers, even publishers and therefore presumably readers. At first sight, the fascination seems to be that of a game of concentrated power-politics, played around a sick-bed by expectant heirs and jealous physicians; but this is too simple a picture. The instinctive behaviour of the patient was often more consistent, however feeble, than the calculations of any of the others. To the patient, his own health was the most important thing in the world; the others were looking over their shoulders to other inheritances and to other clients. Each of the Powers not only suffered from divided counsels about dealing with the local situation, but was also trying to deal with equally, often more, important problems elsewhere.

The strength of this particular study lies in its careful reliance on the documents (Public Record Office and some private papers, including Salisbury's), without trying to force the tangle of events into too sharp a pattern or to interpret tactics as strategy. It also brings out well the qualities of White in overcoming prejudices at home against a Roman Catholic who did not begin a consular career until the age of 33 after many years in Poland, and the prejudice, both at home and abroad, against a Consul who was over 60 before he reached ambassadorial rank. Its weakness springs from the facts that White at Constantinople was not really at the hub of policy as he was apt to imagine, and that the story itself hardly makes good the claim (on the dust cover) that he was 'one of the ablest and most colourful ambassadors Great Britain ever had at the Porte'. He could be both forceful and cautious, and he shared Salisbury's scepticism; but he lacked Salisbury's breadth of view. He was apt to neglect Egypt and Asia, and to allow his fears of Russia and his hopes of Germany to attribute greater coherence to the Balkan policy of each than the facts warranted. (If Holstein's *Diaries* may be trusted, for instance, there was more embarrassed confusion than masterly cunning in the German treatment of Bulgaria and of plans for railways in Asia Minor.) Also, White's experience had been all in Eastern Europe, and he somewhat neglected the rôle of France; Salisbury negotiated the two Mediterranean Agreements (1886-7) without consulting him, and did not even inform him about the first one until it was completed.

Altogether, a 'gap-filling' book for the connoisseur rather than meat for the lover of straight biography or for the reader in search of a rounded episode in diplomatic history.

Trinity Hall, Cambridge

G. W. CRAWLEY

Mr. B. C. Roberts' *THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS*, Vol. I, 1868-1921 (London: Allen and Unwin. 1958. 408 pp. 35s.), is in some respects the most substantial work of trade union history to appear in England since the expanded edition of the Webbs' seminal study was published almost forty years ago. The author has made his way methodically through the printed records at Transport House to compile a volume which stretches from the calling of the first Congress at Manchester in 1868 to the constitutional reform movement of 1921. The evidence is voluminous, but somewhat restricted. Mr. Roberts, for example, draws little on manuscript sources or from the pages of Hansard. Moreover, the general historical background is only lightly and not always happily sketched. (Was the victory of the Conservatives at the General Election of 1895 'due mainly to the failure of the Liberal

Government to deal effectively with the social question'?) Nevertheless so thoroughly has Mr. Roberts explored the main body of his evidence that his book, if not definitive, is likely to remain the standard history of the T.U.C. for many years to come.

It is at first sight little short of astonishing that a great national organization like the T.U.C. should have continued to subsist and indeed to grow and prosper on an income which for the first twenty years of its existence never reached £1000 and which as late as 1914 still fell short of £4000. But financial stringency was in fact a source of strength rather than weakness. It precluded any vainglorious activity and imposed a limitation of aims which was in tune with the essential conservatism of the Congress leadership. The triumph of Hardie, Mann and the New Unionists in 1892 was a victory for militancy but it proved only a three years wonder; and in the industrial strife of 1911-12 the T.U.C. was content to hold a watching brief. The positive achievement of the Congress lay not in the field of industrial conflict but in the manipulation of parliament and in the humdrum task of promoting trade union unity. Mr. Roberts, in contrast to the Webbs, sees virtue in this passivity and in his final chapter pays a reasoned and impressive tribute to the achievement of the Parliamentary Committee. At other points, though much indebted to the work of the Webbs, Mr. Roberts is not uncritical of their findings: and if his refurbishing of the name of George Potter does no more than divert the attention of other historians from the activities of the London Junta to the less trumpeted labours of the provincial trades councils, it will have served a more than useful purpose.

In brief, though to a point this volume represents an opportunity incompletely taken, Mr. Roberts' book is indispensable reading for the student of the British labour movement.

University College, London

A. J. TAYLOR

LABOUR AND POLITICS 1900-1906. By F. Bealey and H. Pelling. London: Macmillan. 1958. 314 pp. 30s.

This book is the sequel to Mr. Pelling's outstanding study *The Origins of the Labour Party 1880-1900*. It recounts the history of the Labour Representation Committee in its crucial post-natal period. The Labour Party, a sickly child at birth, was soon abandoned by one of its parents, the T.U.C., and would not have survived, as it did, to lusty manhood without Ramsay MacDonald's skilled and devoted nursing. MacDonald's most brilliant stroke was to persuade the Liberal Party to act as foster parent. The secret pact between the leaders of the two parties, which was the foundation of the Labour Party's vital electoral success in 1906, is fully analysed here, and its significance for both parties is assessed.

At the end of this admirable study of the early days of a political party, one is left wondering whether history might reverse itself. The Labour Party, now almost 60 years old, seems to have lost its dynamic; it is rent by internal dissension and appears to be unable to formulate new and compelling goals. It is just possible that the political forces of our time might lead to a rebirth of the Liberal Party at the expense of the Labour Party. If that, indeed, were to happen, it would provide an ironic conclusion to the story that Bealey and Pelling have told so well.

London School of Economics

B. C. ROBERTS

Teachers and students of international affairs during the inter-war years will recall the help they derived from Isaiah Bowman's *The New World* which was published in 1921, and became something of a classic. The present generation will be equally indebted to the studies in political geography, by twenty experts drawn from five countries in the British Commonwealth and the U.S.A., contained in *THE CHANGING WORLD*, edited by W. G. East and A. E. Moodie (London: Harrap. 1956. 1040 pp. 42s.). It is a fascinating and instructive exercise to compare Bowman's assessment of the problems of his time, and his consequent allocation of space in his book, with that of this volume. Whereas Bowman gave most space to discussing the importance of European powers in international affairs, this book gives a much larger share to the rest of the world, and also has chapters on the Arctic and Antarctica. Liberally studded with maps and tables, it will be invaluable to those concerned with recent and contemporary history. It will also be of help to history teachers in general, not only in brushing up their geography, but also because certain chapters are largely historical. In this respect, attention is drawn to Professor Derwent Whittlesey's two chapters on the development of the U.S.A., Professor East on the historical background of the Soviet Union, and Dr. Harrison-Church on the impact of the outer world on Africa.

London School of Economics

ALUN DAVIES

A Swedish collective work which deserves attention is that being published, on *DEN SVENSKA UTRIKESPOLITIKENS HISTORIA* (The History of Swedish Foreign Policy). Each volume in this series (and so far the years up to 1560 (1 vol.), 1648-1844 (5 vols.), 1914-19 (1 vol.) have been covered) is the responsibility of one writer who is a recognized expert in at least part of the period which the volume is intended to span and who is willing to undertake independent research for those years where gaps are found or where no synthesis has been achieved. A good example of how commitment to write one of the volumes can lead to detailed and valuable research on a particular topic is afforded by the two books under review by Professor Folke Lindberg. Lindberg, already well known as an expert on Swedish foreign policy in the reign of Oscar II, was asked to contribute the volume for 1872-1914 (Band III, 4. Stockholm: Norstedt. 1958. 361 pp. 27 kr.) and found that more work was needed on the negotiations leading up to the Baltic and North Sea Treaties of 1908. The result of his research into this problem is *SCANDINAVIA IN GREAT POWER POLITICS 1905-1908*, (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell. 1958. 330 pp. 25 kr.) printed in English so that it may reach a wider circle of historians interested in international relations in the early years of the twentieth century when the dissolution of the Union of Sweden and Norway and the consequences of that dissolution was a problem which engrossed the attention of Great Britain, Russia and Germany. Both of Professor Lindberg's books can be strongly recommended, they are scholarly, lucid and marked by responsible and independent judgements. The specialized work will no doubt find more readers in England since the general survey is accessible only to those who can read Swedish. But the latter volume and indeed all the volumes of *Den Svenska Utrikespolitikens Historia* so far published are indispensable for a balanced knowledge of European great power relationships.

London School of Economics

RAGNHILD HATTON

IN THE TWILIGHT OF IMPERIAL RUSSIA (London: Phoenix House, 1958. 256 pp. 25s.) Mr. R. D. Charques supplements his recent concise history of Russia with a more detailed study of the reign of Nicholas II. Somewhat surprisingly, this is the first work in English to treat this vital period as a single whole. It deserves a warm welcome, not only for this reason, but also because the author has a rare talent for combining scholarship with readability. The narrative is admirably clear, sober and accurate; the facts are for the most part allowed to speak for themselves, whilst the conclusions drawn from them are discerning and objective.

It is by no means easy to disentangle the events of Nicholas' unhappy reign from the various partisan myths in which they have been enshrouded, but Mr. Charques fully succeeds in doing so, often with an appropriate touch of gentle irony. Wisely, he does not attempt a complete picture of Russian life during this period. Attention is concentrated upon the titanic struggle between the government and its liberal and revolutionary opponents—a perfectly reasonable approach, since this is indeed the thread upon which all else depends. Of particular value are the brief character sketches of the chief personalities involved. Yet even those who share the author's regard for the influence exerted by powerful individuals upon the course of history (well illustrated in the Russia of Nicholas II) may regret that he did not avert his gaze more frequently from the summit and concern himself more closely with the views of the rank-and-file adherents of the competing factions. It was, after all, their pressure which so often determined the policies of their leaders. Mr. Charques does not take us down to the grass roots of Russian politics. But a little more patient delving into the sources would have added another dimension to the narrative, and might perhaps have led to a fuller appreciation of the dilemmas of Russian liberalism.

Although the author is unsparing in his criticism of all parties, he directs his fire chiefly against the liberals, and in particular against the radical wing led by P. N. Milyukov. Briefly, his thesis is that the moderates, with their rich experience of practical work in local government, mistakenly allowed themselves to be propelled to the left by doctrinaire intellectuals who had imbibed their political philosophy in an alien Western milieu. Allying themselves with the revolutionary parties, they refused to accept a reasonable compromise with autocracy, so that ultimately 'the prospects of a liberal experiment were shattered by the liberals themselves'.

To this argument, which closely follows that developed by V. A. Maklakov, four observations might be made. Firstly, as Mr. Charques himself implies, the demand for constitutional government arose logically from the authorities' stubborn refusal to pursue a policy relevant to popular needs, particularly over the all-important agrarian question. Secondly, compromise and vacillation were typical of Russian liberals before 1902, whilst moderation again became the watchword after 1906; but in both periods the government showed scant understanding of even the most modest claims of 'society', whilst concessions wrenched from it by force were withdrawn as soon as the opportunity arose. Thirdly, collaboration with the left between 1902 and 1906 did not involve a great risk of encouraging either anarchy or proletarian dictatorship, if only because the government was then in a far stronger position than in 1917. Finally, in the light of subsequent experience in other under-developed and autocratically-governed countries, it seems

unreasonable to expect a clandestine party seeking mass support to refrain from declaring its allegiance to abstract ideals, however impracticable their realization may be in local conditions.

These comments, however relate to a question which is admittedly contentious. Mr. Charques has written a valuable study, and one looks forward with pleasure to its successor, which is to deal with the 1917 revolution and the civil war.

School of Slavonic Studies, London

J. L. H. KEEP

THE CARDINAL KING, by Brian Fothergill (London: Faber. 1958. 271 pp. 30s.) is a pleasantly written biography of Henry, younger son of the Old Pretender, cardinal from 1747 till his death in 1807, dealing mainly with his relationships with his brother, his sister-in-law, his brother's illegitimate daughter, the Duchess of Albany, and with successive Popes throughout the period.

No portrait of a top-rank Irish barrister could be dull. JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN. HIS LIFE AND TIMES, by Leslie Halé (London: Cape. 1958. 287 pp. 25s.), is an entertaining and well-written biography of one of the Irish politicians who opposed the subjection of Ireland to British control and the Act of Union of 1800; though the background of the 'times' reflects too one-sidedly the viewpoint of Curran and his associates.

The interest of NELSON'S LETTERS TO HIS WIFE AND OTHER DOCUMENTS 1785-1831 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul for the Navy Records Society. 1958. 630 pp. 42s.) is primarily for the private life of Nelson. Admirably edited by Mr. G. P. B. Naish, these new documents tell an illuminating and pathetic story.

Between 1789 and the present day, France has had some thirty different electoral laws. FRENCH ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND ELECTIONS 1789-1957 (London: Faber. 1958. 144 pp. 21s.) by Peter Campbell will be a most valuable work of reference on these changing régimes. The introduction of 28 pages on the place of electoral systems in French politics is, perhaps unavoidably, rather arid, but there are useful comments later in the book on the way the electoral laws worked in practice.

An interesting collection of private correspondence between Metternich and the French minister Richelieu, with a running commentary, has been published in FRANCE AND THE EUROPEAN ALLIANCE 1816-1821 (University of Notre Dame Press. 1958. xii + 130 pp.) by G. de Bertier de Sauvigny. Its main interest, as the editor says, is in the light it throws on the personalities of the two statesmen. 'Ce n'est pas le ministre du roi de France qui parle à celui de l'Empereur', writes Richelieu in his first letter of July 1817, 'ce sont deux Européens honnêtes et bien intentionnés qui s'entretiennent ensemble sur les moyens d'empêcher cette pauvre Europe de retourner dans le chaos dont elle ne fait que de sortir par miracle.' The correspondence confirms one's impression of the honesty and sense of Richelieu. Metternich does not emerge so favourably. In January 1818 he is praising Richelieu and deploring the ultras. By May 1821 he is deploring the weakness and vacillations

of the second Richelieu administration, and when Richelieu died, in May 1822, he coldly comments, 'Cette perte qui en est un véritable pour tous les amis de ce ministre, ne peut, à mon avis, être considérée comme un malheur sous le point de vue politique.'

LE PARTI CATHOLIQUE BELGE 1830-1945 (Brussels: La Renaissance du Livre. 1958. 155 pp.) by Chanoine A. Simon, gives a clear picture of the main sources and direction of Catholic action in Belgian politics.

JOURNEYS TO ENGLAND AND IRELAND by Alexis de Tocqueville, translated by George Laurence and K. P. Mayer (edited by J. P. Mayer. London: Faber. 1958. 243 pp. 30s.), consists of a collection mostly of jottings or reflections written in the 1830s. The editing is slight and the contents are inevitably rather scrappy, but in these pieces there is the fascination of seeing the mind of de Tocqueville at work, and various stages in the transformation of raw sociological observation into effective literary form.

A new and closely annotated translation of Friedrich Engels' *THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND* by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner (Oxford: Blackwell. 1958. xxxi + 386 pp. 25s.) is welcome. The editors' introduction, however, is less designed to commend Engels' work than to give warning about its strong propagandist overtones. As such it perhaps hardly does full justice to the solid substratum of truth which the book contains.

One of the most useful books on modern France is *DEMOCRACY IN FRANCE*, by David Thomson. The third edition (O.U.P. 1958. 325 pp. 18s.) contains an enlarged treatment of the period of the Vichy régime and the Fourth Republic.

IN THE ROAD TO MAYERLING (London: Macmillan. 1958. 293 pp. 25s.) the title is Richard Barkeley's sole concession to popular appetite. Unfortunately, while Mr. Barkeley eschews any examination of the scandals, whether real or rumoured, which attached to the Crown Prince Rudolph, he is also content to pass over the political, social, racial and diplomatic problems of Austria-Hungary with slight allusions. The result is a curiously artificial court history. The thesis, that Rudolph was yet another last, lost, chance of solving the Habsburg problem, is singularly unconvincing.

THE OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE BRITISH LEGION (London: MacDonald and Evans. 1956. xviii + 348 pp. 25s.) by Graham Wootton is a readable account of the growth of the Legion from the later years of the First World War down to 1954. To the general reader the most interesting chapters will probably be those dealing with the Legion's well-intentioned but futile efforts between the wars to improve international relations through contacts with ex-servicemen in other countries. Mr. Wootton has examined much evidence, written and oral, and he writes with both understanding and frankness.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1906-1911, by J. A. Thomas (University of Wales Press. 1958. 53 pp. 6s.) is a brief, incisive, and informative analysis illustrating

the social composition and the economic interests of the House of Commons as a whole and the major parties within it.

With a BRIEF OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1900-16: THE FOUNDATION OF THE WELFARE STATE (Oxford: Blackwell. 1957. xlix + 470 pp. 92s. 6d.) P. and G. Ford complete a notable enterprise and in so doing provide a welcome tool for those who labour in the vasty deep of the Blue Books of the twentieth century.

AFRICA

AN ATLAS OF AFRICAN HISTORY. By J. D. Fage. London: Edward Arnold. 1958. 62 maps. 64 pp. 30s.

PAGEANT OF GHANA. By Freda Wolfson. Oxford University Press. 1958. xvi + 266 pp. 30s.

A LIFE OF SIR SAMUEL LEWIS. By J. D. Hargreaves. Oxford University Press. 1958. xii + 112 pp. 6s.

Professor Fage, in expanding from the excellent maps in his *Introduction to the History of West Africa* to cover the whole Continent, has put all students of African history in his debt. He has been assisted by a cartographer who makes the volume a delight to handle and browse over. If the maps seem to underline once more that African history is one of routes, not of frontiers, here are set out the ancient African states, not only of West Africa but also of the Centre and East. One could dwell on the joys of this book but a greater compliment is to make suggestions for the succeeding editions that will be called for. Coherent maps are now available elsewhere of Roman Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, but Professor Fage might have indicated the Roman connections with the interior, their knowledge of the tribes, and that the *Periplus* (strangely unmentioned) reveals a knowledge of the Eastern coasts. The map of the Christian missions is overloaded with lettering. Surely these, whose impact has been so great, deserve more than one map. Excellent maps give the history of trade in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, but on the eve of Portuguese expansion Muslim power in Bengal and Indonesia was greater than map 23 indicates. In East Africa Jubaland was transferred from Kenya to Italian Somaliland in 1924, not 1920, whilst the present Kenya-Uganda boundary was not fixed throughout in 1902. It would be valuable to have, if it were possible, a map showing by years what areas the European powers *actually* administered as the Scramble went on; here there is no more than a hint that European control was not total in 1895. But we must acclaim. Professor Fage has marked the frontiers of our present knowledge of African history, and it is invaluable to have a base for further progress as firm as this.

The other volumes are the first of the West African History series sponsored by West African Newspapers Ltd., who are to be congratulated on their enterprise. Miss Freda Wolfson's anthology has drawn mainly on writers with a first hand experience. Besides accounts by well-known travellers there appear also extracts from the Colonial Office files: a Governor visiting Kumasi in 1848 and another finding 'stagnation' in 1857. Many African voices are heard in the twentieth-century selections: scholar-politicians from the elder Casely Hayford to Dr. Busia, coloured visitors from South Africa and the United States, all being rounded off by a quotation from Dr.

Nkrumah's *Autobiography*. The well-chosen extracts should lead many readers to the originals—the proper function of an anthology.

Mr. Hargreaves is step by step opening up the history of Sierra Leone. After valuable articles, he has now provided a brief biography of the first African to be knighted. In Samuel Lewis a leader emerged, African by race and English Nonconformist by culture. The difficulties of his community, caught between Africa and Europe, appear clearly. Lewis, like his Canadian contemporary, Sir John A. Macdonald, was proud to be 'a British subject'. It is good that Lewis's difficult career should have been recorded, especially as he is unlikely to be noted in the hagiography of future African nationalism.

Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Oxford

GEORGE BENNETT

THE MAKING OF MODERN UGANDA. By Kenneth Ingham. London: Allen and Unwin. 1958. 303 pp. 25s.

Dr. Ingham starts his book with two chapters sketching what is known of the earlier history of Uganda, but his main aim is to trace the effects of British administration during the sixty years since the Protectorate was proclaimed in 1894. This he achieves most admirably. A number of strands run through the story. From time to time administrators have thought that affairs could be managed more tidily if the three East African territories were federated, but there has always been determined opposition to this in Uganda, at first from European planters and later from Indian traders and Africans as well. Dr. Ingham shows how the fear of federation informed those events which led to the Kabaka's deportation in 1953. This fear is still an emotive factor seriously to be reckoned with in all plans for political development, even within the country itself. Dr. Ingham shows the process by which Africans have been more and more associated with the government of their country, and the connection of all this with developing agriculture, particularly cotton-growing. The part of the Christian Missions in the history of Uganda is recognized, and their contribution to education acknowledged.

The author's judgements are based not only on his knowledge of all available sources but also on his experience as a member of the Legislative Council. One wonders, however, whether enough has been made of the deep conservatism of the country folk, who form the vast majority of the population, and whose reactions to the struggle for the future government of the country now developing between the old chiefly system and the new political parties cannot yet be assessed. The book is a most useful and reliable contribution to colonial history and is well documented.

LESLIE UGANDA

THE BIRTH OF A DILEMMA. By Philip Mason. Oxford University Press. 1958. xi + 366 pp. 30s.

THE BIRTH OF A PLURAL SOCIETY. By L. H. Gann. Manchester University Press. 1958. xxi + 230 pp. 25s.

INDEPENDENT AFRICAN. By G. Shepperson and T. Price. Edinburgh University Press. 1958. x + 566 pp. 50s.

Here is historical writing on Rhodesia and Nyasaland at three different levels. Philip Mason's is the work of a *vulgarisateur*, a form of writer approved in France but not sufficiently appreciated here. The style makes the book a

pleasure to read. It provides an interesting introduction to the themes of the region, one which should appeal to many working there. Yet one must ask whether the moment of the popularizer has arrived. The book is based on the work of anthropologists, on accounts of travellers and on such historical writing as yet exists. Unfortunately there is not enough anthropological material to cover the area. There is at least as great a difference in political organization between Bantu tribes as between European nations; it is not sufficient to discuss the Barotse when accounts of the Matabele and the Mashona are required. However, Mr. Mason builds on writings of missionaries and big game hunters to produce a living portrait of Lobengula. The book thus concerns mainly Southern Rhodesia, that of all British territories in Africa which has been least touched by the historian. He seeks fresh material from the confidential prints of the Colonial Office but it is not sufficient. The history of Southern Rhodesia before the First World War remains to be written.

There is no need to apologize, as Mr. Mason does, for bringing anthropological and other material together; the historian in Africa must use anthropological writings as a source. Mr. Gann was employed by anthropologists to provide them with date charts and an historical outline for their work. As Professor Max Gluckman acknowledges in a preface, he has notably turned the tables on them to produce a most workmanlike history of Northern Rhodesia before 1914. This is more than worthy to put beside A. J. Hanna's *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia*, and provides facts which illustrate Mr. Mason's generalizations. Working with anthropologists, Mr. Gann has been able to give a detailed historical sketch of the tribal position when the Europeans arrived, has shown where the missionaries went, and then brought on to his stage administrators, miners, railwaymen, farmers and traders, men who, in their racial complexity (British, Afrikaner, Jew, Indian and other), had entered the plural society of Northern Rhodesia by 1914. Mr. Gann's scholarly use of the Rhodesian and missionary archives makes this a most valuable work.

For the full excitement of historical writing, however, we must turn to *Independent African*. This is a most important book for all interested in the history of modern Africa, of race relations, and of the missionary movement. It studies John Chilembwe and the Nyasaland Rising of 1915 in a wide historical perspective, the argument being that the rising, though small in itself, has a far greater significance in terms of the forces engaged. Chilembwe's visit to America between 1897 and 1900 put him in touch with American negroes, their traditions of revolt and their 'Back to Africa' ideas. Chilembwe, acting in his turn, has become a living symbol among Africans and may have influenced Garvey, the 'Black Moses' of America. In such a context, as well as in that of European despite of Chilembwe, the authors seek to reveal the real man and his 'pathetic dignity', that of the 'marginal man' between Europe and Africa, whilst they see him also as the first of the modern leaders of the non-tribal revolts against the Europeans in Africa. Chilembwe's ideas were formed in the Christianity of the independent egalitarian sects. Besides these there were in Nyasaland Catholics, Roman and Anglican, and, of course, the Scottish Presbyterians. Thus an interesting study emerges of ideas of political and social relationships in the new situation of colonial Africa, though recalling the quarrels of the Reformation.

The material entailed for the authors a chase across three continents. The contrast with Mr. Mason is complete: his footnotes are sketchy and in one chapter particularly are treated so carelessly that it seems he has no respect for historical apparatus. Here, however, we can follow the authors pursuing, as historical detectives, their material, and weighing the evidence. A real perspective emerges not only from the European but also from the African viewpoint, for valuable African sources, both written and oral, have been called on. The discovery of Chilembwe's own photograph album has provided a number of fascinating illustrations, and the book shows well what use can be made of visual historical sources. This is a work of mature scholarship and must be a joy to any student of the craft of history.

Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Oxford

GEORGE BENNETT

The Witwatersrand University Press is to be congratulated on its timely re-issue of two books by South African scholars which were first published by the Oxford University Press. *THE CAPE COLOURED PEOPLE* (W.U.P. 1957. xxi + 296 pp. 22s. 6d.) by Professor J. S. Marais reads as freshly and pungently today as it did when it originally appeared eighteen years ago. Few historians would claim to be able to see into the future, yet it is astonishing how many of the predictions he made in 1939 have been fulfilled. No occult powers are responsible for the accuracy of his forecasts. These stem rather from deep insight, unqualified honesty and a clear sense of the historical process as it has worked and is working in the complicated sphere of race relations in South Africa. Himself of Afrikaner stock, Professor Marais admits that he started his research with the prejudices typical of his social group. As an historian, however, he applied himself to his material in a spirit of inquiry which aimed to seek the truth even though that might prove unpleasant. Consequently this study is not an impassioned apologia for the coloured people, so beloved by missionaries and philanthropists and so detested by white South Africans. The author is very well aware of the complexities of the situation and of the short-comings of the group he has studied. But his guiding principle throughout is 'that justice . . . does not allow the use of two measures, one for ourselves and our own people, and another for those who differ from us in nationality, or race, or the colour of their skins'. Professor Marais examines in detail one sector of the colour spectrum in South Africa: the relatively small group of mixed origin, known as Cape Coloured, who are and have always been closest to the Europeans. The fundamental fact about these coloured people is that they would not have come into existence but for the settlement of Europeans in South Africa after 1652, and that for this reason alone, if for no others, the whites ought to have had a special responsibility towards them. Yet the records show how from the earliest times the coloured people were gradually deprived of their lands and their cattle and consigned to a position of inescapable inferiority by social, religious and legal barriers. The nadir was reached recently, as foretold by Professor Marais, in the disfranchisement of the Cape Coloured people by an act of the South African parliament which violated one of the most important clauses of the constitution of 1910. He also gives an admirably lucid account of the first contacts between Europeans and Hottentots, of the ruthless extermination of the Bushmen, and of the first clashes between Europeans and Bantu, all elements in the history of the Cape Coloured

people. Throughout these years of struggle and violence, Christianity, regarded as an exclusively white preserve, was used to justify and to cloak the exploitation and subjugation of non-Europeans. Professor Marais has produced a work of rare distinction. It has those qualities of honesty, clarity and profound insight which historical writing but seldom achieves. No student of race relations can afford to neglect a book of such value.

In many respects *The Cape Coloured People* is endorsed and supplemented by a study on a similar theme by Professor I. D. MacCrone whose *RACE ATTITUDES IN SOUTH AFRICA, HISTORICAL, EXPERIMENTAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDIES* (W.U.P. 1957. 328 pp. 25s.) has been re-issued twenty years after its first appearance. Though the author is a psychologist, the first and last sections will be of special interest to historians, for here also the necessity of an historical approach to the problem of race relations is again amply demonstrated. Professor MacCrone devotes a considerable proportion of his work to an examination of the origins of race prejudice in the first two centuries of white settlement in South Africa. The religious and cultural barriers which existed between whites and non-Europeans, and the strenuous efforts which were made to preserve these differences in the turbulence of a frontier society, are particularly stressed. In the psychological section the author applies the technique of his own science to an analysis and interpretation of race prejudice, and attempts to define its effects on South African society at the present time. What he has to say about the projection of the fears of white South Africans on to the legislative fabric of the country has even more point now than it had twenty years ago, in view of the constantly increasing legal barriers to racial integration which are such a marked feature of South Africa today. This picture of a small white group, dominated by unconscious terrors and giving rein to them in various conscious efforts to preserve its superiority is at once stimulating and sobering.

The importance of both these studies lies in their clear statement of facts. On a subject which arouses so much sentiment and passion as race relations, it is good to have at hand the work of two scholars of such integrity. Their fearless regard for truth is all the more valuable at a time when academic freedom in South Africa stands in danger of being curtailed by government action.

University of Exeter

FREDA WOLFSON

ASIA

Upon thirteenth-century Islam and Christendom, the onslaught of the Mongols, with their new and devastating methods of warfare, had an impact comparable with that of atomic weapons on our own age. Panic fear, suicidal courage, resignation before what was regarded as divine retribution, were common reactions to this cataclysm. Nowhere is the spirit of that age captured more vividly than in Juvaini's *Ta'rikh-i Jahan Gusha* or *HISTORY OF THE WORLD CONQUEROR* (i.e. of Chingiz Khan), now translated into English by Dr. J. A. Boyle from the text established by Muhammad Qazvini (Manchester University Press. 1958. 2 vols. xlv + 763 pp. 63s.). 'Ata-Malik Juvaini was a Persian who administered Baghdad and Iraq on behalf of the Il-Khan of Persia Abagha (1265-82). He twice visited the Mongol capital of Qaraqorum and his description of the Mongol court and empire has the

same eyewitness quality as the accounts of Marco Polo and William of Rubruck. Chingiz Khan himself died before Juvaini's time, but the narrative continues into the reigns of the historian's contemporaries Ögedei, Güyük and Möngke. Of particular interest is the account of Hulagu's annihilation of the Assassins of Alamut under their chieftain, the Old Man of the Mountains. Juvaini is a keen student of manners and customs, a born narrator and a vivid delineator of character; he is an elegant, sometimes a mannered writer, in whose pages poetic quatrains and quotations from the Koran alternate with laconic accounts of gruesome atrocities. Dr. Boyle's readable translation, scholarly without pedantry, and finely produced and printed, makes generally accessible for the first time a basic source for medieval history and an engrossing work of literature.

School of Oriental and African Studies, London

D. M. LANG

THE HOYSALAS. A MEDIEVAL INDIAN ROYAL FAMILY. By J. D. M. Derrett. Oxford University Press. 1957. xix + 257 pp. 21s.

The history of the many Hindu dynasties of what is loosely called the medieval period, and especially those coming after the seventh century, used often to be dismissed as of no serious interest. Dr. Derrett's book is one of the best monographs among those so far produced to demolish that prejudice, though the reader may be surprised to find in a contemporary work a highly rhetorical narrative insisting on the force of individual personalities as shaping destiny. Nevertheless the record has been most carefully pieced together, largely from contemporary inscriptions, and social and economic factors have been allowed considerable weight. Dr. Derrett is primarily interested in kings and administration. The result may be taken as authoritative on the actual events, whilst the conclusions drawn, such as the thesis that the Hoysalas, whose kingdom was centred on the modern Mysore, should not have attempted to conquer the rich Tamil plains, are individual judgements which the reader may well wish to contest. The discussion on the theory of land-tenure remains inconclusive. The lack of an adequate map is troublesome and time-wasting. Some towns (e.g. Kāñcī, Bēgūr, Huṃca) have an unfortunate habit of changing their position on the six sketch maps and Dhārā ought not to appear on any of them, being much further north. However, this is a valuable book for the student of Indian history and a most interesting one for any historian.

University of Edinburgh

A. K. WARDER

A HISTORY OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT (being the story of Muslim Struggle for the Freedom of Hind-Pakistan). Vol. I, 1707-1831. Karachi. 1957. xiii + 603 pp. Rs. 25.

The great revolution in world history which has occurred since the Second World War, namely the throwing off by the peoples of Asia of western dominance, must inevitably be followed by a revolution in the historical perspectives under which the history of Asia has been visualized. Before 1947, the key date, the history of Asia was resolved by western historians into a story of Asian decadence, immobility and backwardness before the coming of the Europeans, followed by the story of European activities in Asia, and of the effect of Europe upon Asia told chiefly in political terms. Certainly in the Indian sub-continent, there was little interest in movements of thought and feeling among Indians themselves and what there was, was mainly

concentrated upon the small westernized intelligentsia. The Muslims of the sub-continent particularly suffered from this inattention. Who now remembers any book on them besides Sir William Hunter's *Indian Musalmans*?

Western students of history, therefore, should read this book, for it expresses a Pakistani Muslim view of the past of the Muslim community in the sub-continent which the Western historian must increasingly take into account. Of course, the work is a piece of mythology, a Muslim example of the Whig interpretation of history, singling out those facts significant for future progress rather than for present predicaments. Otherwise it is difficult to understand why the volume begins in 1707, when there were no British rulers in India from whom to win freedom. Unless the authors believed that there were signs and portents of a coming Muslim revival in the eighteenth century, it was hardly necessary to have narrated the decline of the Mughal empire in such detail merely to establish a background.

The political chapters unfortunately stay in the groove, familiar to the period and to the region, of a chronicle of personal actions and fortunes. The structure of contemporary Indian society is not contemplated as a whole, and it is difficult to see where the earlier accounts of William Irvine, Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Dr. Mohibbul Hasan (on Tipu Sultan) have been bettered. It is interesting that Dr. Riaz ul-Islam, in his chapter on the symptoms of Mughal decline and Mr. Ikram in his first chapter on Shah Waliullah, the religious thinker, lay emphasis on a moral decline, as they conceive it, among the members of the Mughal nobility. One feels that further study of the political idiom of later Mughal times would invalidate these judgements historically; it was not perhaps that individuals lacked vigour and virtue but that they could not see any common purposes worthy of their devotion. The work would be more useful with a bibliography.

School of Oriental and African Studies, London

P. HARDY

A SHORT HISTORY OF HIND-PAKISTAN. Prepared by the Pakistan History Board. Pakistan Historical Society. 1955. xx + 484 pp. Rs. 10.

This book is the joint work of twenty scholars appointed by the Pakistan History Board. It claims to be an 'objective' history of the Indian sub-continent (or 'Hind-Pakistan'), and in an interesting foreword Mr. Fazlur Rahman, as President of the Pakistan Historical Society, attacks the writings of Western historians in the days of the British Raj on the ground that they lacked objectivity. But is this merely to fight yesterday's battles? Pakistani historians are unlikely now to err in the direction of 'Imperialism'. Their temptation will surely be more towards a Pakistani or a Muslim bias. Indeed, when he explains why the Government established the Pakistan History Board in 1949, when he was Minister of Education, Mr. Fazlur Rahman asserts: 'The study of history in the widest sense of the term plays a vital rôle in the nation-building programme of a people. This is particularly true in the case of those who want to raise the structure of their society on the foundations of some ideology.' It seems that it was a belief in the necessity of 're-writing the history of the sub-continent' in the light of these considerations that prompted the establishment of the Board. The volume under review, the first task undertaken by the Board, is therefore of some significance.

In such circumstances to reconcile the claims of nationalism with those of objectivity may well have seemed difficult, and the book as a whole is likely

to appeal more to orthodox Muslims and Pakistanis than to Hindu or Western readers. There is little attempt to suggest that more than one point of view is possible. Even the great Mughal Emperor Akbar is treated with some scorn for his unorthodox metaphysical speculations and religious policies: 'being himself not properly educated he confused issues and was led away by conflicting opinions and philosophies'. He had tried to attach the Hindus to his support by giving them responsible posts in the administration and in many other ways. The orthodox Aurangzib reversed this policy and the consequent alienation of many Hindus has generally been regarded as an important reason for the decline of Mughal power. In this book the decline of the Mughal Empire is traced back to Akbar himself, who has generally been regarded as its chief architect. He is criticized for alienating Muslim support by favouring the Hindus, while Aurangzib is praised for trying 'to give an Islamic character to the State'. Similarly, we are told categorically that 'Tipu Sultan is counted among the noblest figures of history', and that 'the Mutiny was the culminating stage in the century-old struggle of the Muslims to free themselves from the domination of the foreigners'.

However, there will no doubt be general approval for the attempt which this book has made to give more space to intellectual, social and economic matters than has been usual in text-books of Indian history.

School of Oriental and African Studies, London

KENNETH BALLHATCHET

ISLAM IN MODERN HISTORY. By W. Cantwell Smith. Princeton University Press: O.U.P. 1958. 317 pp. 40s.

Dr. Smith has followed up his well-known *Modern Islam in India* with a study of the predicament of Islam in the modern world situation. The work is lively, enthusiastic and somewhat breathless, based on wide study and infused with a yearning to be fair and to comprehend. There are certain large gaps in the study which detract from its philosophical value—the unique Islamic mutation of Shi-ism in Iran or Persia, the eclectic form of Islam in Indonesia, the 'missionary' area in non-Arab Africa and the minority groups in the Soviet Union, China and elsewhere. These are large exceptions and mean that the study is virtually confined to the forms of Sunni orthodoxy to be found in the Arab, the Turkish and the Indo-Pakistani worlds.

Within these limits Dr. Smith's survey is lively, comprehensive and suggestive. He sees the predicament of Islam as the challenge to a self-contained religio-social complex by the multiple forces of the west. The acuteness of the challenge varies with the degree of isolation in time and space of Islamic societies which also governs the nature of the response. Thus the Arab world, apt to regard all history since 1258 as a postscript to the classical age of Islam, has been so emotionally upset by the material aggression of the west that it has been unable to devise any serious intellectual response. The Turkish world, on the other hand, more realistic and regarding its own achievements, in their Ottoman and Mughul branches, as forming, with the Caliphate, the twin peak of Islamic greatness, is attempting a genuine re-orientation of Islamic principles in the light of modern conditions. Pakistan, in this regard, as so many others, is still at a parting of the ways. From a study of these regions only it is not possible to generalize for Islam as a whole; nor has the prior question been considered of the nature of Islam in itself and its relation to indigenous cultures such as are to be found in Iran,

India and Indonesia. But for the countries dealt with Dr. Smith's book is a valuable guide to their present perplexities and tentative solutions. Modern developments have been forcing on all of them a re-appraisal which is in various degrees agonizing.

Selwyn College, Cambridge

PERCIVAL SPEAR

THE FAR EAST IN THE MODERN WORLD, by Franz H. Michael and George E. Taylor (London: Methuen. 1956. 724 pp. 50s.) is a comprehensive and highly informative introductory survey, suitable for college and university courses, by two members of the Far Eastern and Russian Institute of the University of Washington. It covers Eastern and South-eastern Asia, including Burma—the area defined as the world of which China was once the centre. The first half of the book examines the nature of traditional Far Eastern societies, and their reactions to the impact of the West until the First World War, and effectively incorporates the results of a large amount of recent American scholarship, especially on social and economic issues. The second half treats the period from the Russian Revolution to the present day, and again is much more than a history of the diplomacy of the period. Chapter XI, for example, on Soviet activities in Asia, contains a good description of international Communist doctrine and organization. A final chapter reviews American Far Eastern policy from 1921. Although packed with information, the exposition throughout is clear and readable and there are some particularly perceptive discussions in the first half of the book. It is attractively produced but unfortunately the 'suggested reading' consists simply of a list of titles. It is true that the authors warn that the works named vary greatly in quality and purpose, but in an introductory survey of this kind which covers so vast an area, the student's further exploration should surely be guided by critical comments and suggestions from already seasoned travellers.

London School of Economics

ALUN DAVIES

Mr. Joseph Buttinger was Director of the American International Rescue Committee in Vietnam during 1954. In *THE SMALLER DRAGON. A POLITICAL HISTORY OF VIETNAM* (New York: Atlantic Books. London. Stevens and Sons. 535 pp. 45s.) his thesis is that the Vietnamese early acquired a sense of racial unity which enabled them to throw off their Chinese conquerors, and which will still stand them in good stead. He is not a professional historian and he makes no secret of his admiration for the Vietnamese and dislike of the French colonial régime. But he writes well and his book is the first in English to deal with Vietnam alone, as distinct from Indo-China as a whole.

GENERAL

THE CONCISE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY. Edited by John Bowle.

London: Hutchinson. 1958. 511 pp. 50s.

This is a book with many admirable qualities. It is beautifully produced; although, I suppose inevitably in view of the need to cram so much into 500 pages, the print is smaller than most readers would wish. The book is a pleasure to handle. The illustrations, both black and white, have been chosen with great care. Any teacher equipped with an efficient episcope would find many of his problems of obtaining and selecting material for

projection solved for him. The pictures are closely co-ordinated with the text, as are the maps. These are less impressive, being in some cases so small as to necessitate almost microscopic print. Since, however, no sensible person would wish to study world history without a good atlas to hand, this is not a very serious defect.

The use of the term *Encyclopaedia* in the title seems to be in some respects of doubtful validity. The work is highly selective; for example, the editor makes it clear in his Introduction that the more familiar histories of Mesopotamia and Egypt have not been treated in detail, so that more space can be devoted to the origins of China, of India and of the native cultures of the Americas. Similarly, in his conclusion the editor says 'In most of the foregoing chapters political events have been given a subordinate place. Today it is the social, cultural and economic aspects of civilization that we find most interesting.' Many, but by no means all, readers would agree with this; but such an approach can hardly be claimed as encyclopædic.

The contributions of the impressive list of writers responsible for the twenty sections of the book are in some cases fairly detailed, especially in the earlier sections; but modern history (from 1492) occupies only about one hundred and sixty pages. This has clearly involved much summarization and generalization, often very well done; one of the most interesting sections of this kind being the last, called 'World War, Communism and Social Democracy'. Useful lists are provided for further reading; and there is an index which, considering the title of the book, seems to be hardly adequate, occupying as it does only seven pages.

The book ends with a brief but highly interesting Conclusion by the editor, in which he sees world history as 'not as Fisher believed, a tale without a pattern, but a record in which two specific trends may be observed from the paleolithic age until today; the gradual mastery of environment; and, out of this deviating but cumulative progress, the realization of a great and diverse range of human experience'. He draws attention to the fact that technological advances are creating a new kind of man whose outlook is bound to be world-wide, and suggests that a new kind of world civilization will in time arise, drawing its vitality from many sources and opening up many possibilities of turning science to the enhancement rather than the annihilation of life. This seems to be a fair if optimistic estimate of the possibilities which can be deduced from the re-interpretation of world history offered in this book.

Saint Luke's College, Exeter

J. C. REVILL

IN A HISTORY OF BRITISH LIVESTOCK HUSBANDRY TO 1700 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1957. 286 pp. 32s.) Robert Trow-Smith blends the experience and practical sense of a writer on contemporary agricultural matters with the techniques of an analytical historian, to produce a most valuable study of this branch of agrarian history. His synthesis of printed documents, monographs, articles, and older writers is carried through with thoroughness, and occasional shafts of incisiveness when he is correcting long-established myths or half-truths, such as the alleged autumnal ritual slaughter of stock, or the preeminent part played by the turnip in revolutionizing stock-keeping. Not the least merit of the book is that it avoids the pitfall of suggesting that medieval livestock husbandry was all sheep and wool; cattle, pigs,

and horses all receive adequate treatment. It is as well to note, however, that this is a technical and not an economic history. It answers questions on breed types, methods of stock management, milk yields, sizes of herds and distribution of the different kinds of stock; it does not seek to deal with the questions of price, profit, markets, costs of production and means of distribution, which may be held to have determined the former. These economic issues are omitted on the rather unsatisfactory ground that the evidence bearing on them is nebulous, and discussion of them necessarily speculative; which does not prevent Mr. Trow-Smith from speculating, reasonably, on questions of breed origins and on the possibility of thirteenth and fourteenth-century imports of continental breeding stock. The study can speak for itself without excuse; it is an important attempt to increase understanding of agricultural history by dealing fully with one aspect of it.

University College, London

F. M. L. THOMPSON

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF LIGHTING, by W. T. O'Dea (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1958. 251 pp. 42s.), deals with a subject which has been neglected and given little more than passing reference in books on general social history. The gap has now been very usefully filled by the Keeper in charge of the lighting collections at the Science Museum. The author has a number of novel and fascinating theories, many of which he has himself tested by making and using various types of early lighting equipment. This ingenious research adds greatly to the interest of what he has to say. It is a form of scientific support of historical theory which might well be adopted in other contexts. Mr. O'Dea refers frequently to contemporary paintings and has drawn from them interesting theories about the conditions of lighting in which certain artists worked and in which people in general lived. Unfortunately the style is turgid, repetitive and slick in places. There are a large number of excellent photographs and some rather deplorable drawings. But this is a book which needed writing.

Geffrye Museum, London

MOLLY HARRISON

INTRODUCTION A LA DÉMOGRAPHIE HISTORIQUE DES VILLES D'EUROPE DU XIV^e AU XVIII^e SIÈCLE. By Roger Mols. Louvain: Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie. 1954-6. 3 volumes, xxx + 335 pp., 557 pp., lxix + 354 pp. 1100 frs. Belg.

Dr. Roger Mols has put all students of European economic and social history deeply in his debt by providing them with an indispensable guide to the considerable literature which exists in many languages on the demography of towns in western and central Europe. This work is based entirely on printed sources and secondary works, many of which will be little known in this country, but the author rightly pleads for an attempted synthesis of the monographic literature on this subject. It is regrettable that his synthesis is not more succinct. The length of the book might have been reduced by the omission of the arguments of some of the obvious points and by a compression of the discussion upon problems of method.

The first volume deals with the sources, the available data, and points out the difficulties in their interpretation. The greater abundance of material led the author to concentrate his attention on towns and his study is soundly based on the frequent censuses taken in Italian cities in the sixteenth century

and even, in some places, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Material which illustrates changes in population is more important to the demographer and to the historian than data which enable one to pin-point the population at any one time; hence the significance of parish registers. The earliest register is that of Givry for 1334 but these documents are rare before 1500. Many writers were interested in population problems. This interest, stimulated, first in Venice and Florence, by geographical discoveries and by the rise of the nation-state, spread to Switzerland, France and the Low Countries. The work of the men who advanced the study of 'Political Arithmetic' is fully described by Dr. Mols. Such demographic studies were frequently regarded with suspicion, although it is perhaps not quite fair to describe the Swiss economist J. H. Waser as 'the martyr of statistics'. Dr. Mols discusses the difficult problem of the 'multiplier' and his conclusions are in line with those reached by the American scholar Dr. J. T. Krause.

In volume II the subject becomes alive and behind the mass of statistical data the author shows us how it may be employed to paint a picture of urban life through four centuries. The density of population in the central areas of European cities was extremely high, judged by modern western standards, but many towns had large areas which were not fully built over. Such interesting influences upon the number of families per house as racial and social habits, the size of houses and the possibility of new building are well discussed. In England and the Low Countries the number of persons per house was much lower than in Scotland or Ireland or in many central European cities.

In dealing with the distribution of the urban population by sex and age groups, the author's arguments would have been helped had he given some mid-twentieth century figures for purposes of comparison. The preponderance of females made for the success of the *béguinages*. The disproportion between females and males appears to have increased during the eighteenth century, and the excess of single women, Dr. Mols tells us, was found in Protestant as well as in Catholic countries. Urban parish registers show a significant increase in illegitimate births in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The bibliography in the third volume is invaluable. The history of urban development in these centuries will be fuller and deeper when the material that Dr. Mols has made easily available has been thoroughly studied.

King's College, London

G. A. J. HODGETT

A HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF OXFORD, vol. v, BULLINGDON HUNDRED, ed. Mary D. Lobel, VICTORIA COUNTY HISTORY, ed. R. B. Pugh. Published for the Institute of Historical Research by the Oxford University Press. 1957. xxvi + 343 pp. £5 5s.

As I have never hitherto been asked to review a topographical volume of the V.C.H. I have never before sat down to read one from cover to cover. These volumes have been for me reference books, generally a last resort when the books in our own library have failed me. It had never occurred to me that it might be possible to read one of these volumes with enjoyment and it may be that this is a vintage volume. It certainly deserves to be read in its own right as a collection of uniquely interesting village histories covering a stretch of countryside which still bears on its surface many obvious traces of

its past history. The parishes which border the city of Oxford are no longer villages, but their transformation is recent. Headington was 'an agricultural parish' in 1833; five farms were still in operation there in 1891 and its 'rural traditions and pursuits' were 'retained until the present century'. In New Marston the 'new streets preserved the lines of old furlongs and green roads'. Morris Motors at Cowley is a twentieth-century development. Sir William Dugdale, the founder of the county history tradition, would have liked this book and rejoiced to see that three hundred years after his great history of Warwickshire appeared county historians were still approaching their problems in his spirit. The essential purpose of the topographical volumes has always been to trace the manorial descents of English villages and this the authors have done, but the vast amount of material available to Oxfordshire antiquaries has enabled them to provide an unusually rich picture of the rural scene and trace the history of some of the lesser families in the villages. The authors have been aided by the work of many predecessors, notably of White Kennett, who began his ecclesiastical career as curate and schoolmaster at Bicester and became vicar of Ambrosden in 1685, of John Dunkin, son of a Bicester man, and above all, of H. E. Salter.

The influence of the University, or perhaps it should more truly be said of the Colleges of Oxford is apparent throughout the history of this hundred. The conservatism of Queen's College defeated more than one attempt at enclosure in the Baldons, where Sir Christopher Willoughby, 'an innovator and experimentalist' did his best between 1773 and 1805 to improve the agricultural standards of the neighbourhood. Pembroke College held up the inclosure of Cowley, advocated in a farmer's meeting in 1821, until 1853. The conservatism both of the farmers and the several colleges which held land in the village prevented the inclosure of Garsington until 1811. The presidents of Trinity College became *ex-officio* rectors of Garsington by the will of Sir Thomas Pope their founder in 1557 and many of them took an active interest in the life of the church there. In accordance with Pope's will the rectory house was repaired for the use of the college in times of pestilence and the whole college migrated there during a plague in Oxford while Arthur Yeldard (instituted 1563) was president. Ralph Kettell (1599-1643) rode there every Sunday with his servant and provisions and preached regularly, singing in a 'high shrill treble'. James Ingram, who had become Rawlinson Professor of Anglo-Saxon in 1803, took, as President of Trinity (1824-50), a lively interest both in the church and the school and tried to stop the sport of bull-baiting which was still enjoyed on the green of Garsington in the 1830s. It was a fellow of Magdalen, Dr. Edward Rogers, who, while rector of Holton (1665-84), started the village school there, and through the nineteenth century the college showed a continuing interest in the school at Horsepath.

From some remarkable early documents it is possible that more information might have been obtained, notably from the recently noticed Saxon charter of 1005-11 recording the sale to the Dane Toti of land at Beckley and Horton by King Æthelræd II for cash with which to pay Danegeld. It contains the earliest reference by many years to that curious area of marshy common land known as Otmoor, from which the agricultural improvers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century hoped so much, but in the end obtained so little by inclosure. Arthur Young thought its good

loam would form valuable farms and that the land would be worth thirty or forty shillings an acre, but in 1830 it was thought to be dear at five shillings an acre. Wherever common fen and marsh had provided fishing and fowling, even if illicit, inclosure roused fierce opposition.

It is possible that the authors may have occasionally been hindered rather than helped by taking over evidence collected long ago in the early days of the Victoria County History, for example, reference to the *Red Book of the Exchequer* should not be given for extracts from Pipe Rolls which are now themselves in print (p. 61, n. 88). The relationship between the king and Thomas de St. Valery from his accession to the honour of Beckley on the death of his father Bernard in 1191-2 to his own death in 1219 may be less simple than is here suggested (p. 61). Thomas's relations with King John were certainly complicated by the connection between the families of Braiose and St Valery. In writing of the middle ages provision made for a daughter on marriage should be described not as dower, but as marriage portion (pp. 38, 87). If in the account of Cuddesdon the visits which Freeman paid to Stubbs are thought worth mentioning does not Stubbs's own little poem on Cuddesdon merit at least the quotation of one verse:

'I am out of the reach of the rail
I must take all my journeys alone,
There isn't a horse to be hired,
I'm obliged to keep four of my own.
The boys who look after the beasts
My hat with indifference see,
They don't seem to care in the least
For my Gaiters, my Apron, or me?'

This volume is beautifully produced and contains an unusual number of illustrations; maps, plans, pictures of wall paintings in churches and of country houses, many of them no longer standing. It is a valuable addition to *The English Historical Library*.

University of Reading

DORIS M. STENTON

THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND: LEICESTERSHIRE,
Vol. V. Edited by R. A. McKinley. Published for the Institute of
Historical Research by the Oxford University Press. 1958. xx + 484 pp.
£6 6s.

This volume, devoted exclusively to the history of the city of Leicester, completes the Leicestershire V.C.H. With its two predecessors that have recently appeared it constitutes an achievement upon which the successive editors, Dr. W. G. Hoskins who planned this resumption of the work left uncompleted half a century ago and Mr. R. A. McKinley who succeeded him on his departure from Leicester and in addition to editorial labours has contributed so many scholarly articles from his own pen, are much to be congratulated.

The volume, the first in the series to be wholly concerned with the history of a provincial town, consists partly of narrative chapters dealing with various aspects and periods of the development of the city as a whole, and partly of topographical articles on each of its constituent parishes and areas more

recently added. It suffers somewhat from having been partly entrusted (perhaps perforce) to young scholars of comparatively limited experience who have not yet mastered the art (in which Dr. Hoskins excels) of being at once statistical and readable. Hence the chapters are of uneven merit and the volume as a whole does not reach its predecessors' standard. At the same time it is by no means a mere 'second eleven performance'. Some of the newcomers acquit themselves well (there is, for instance, a competent study of the rise of the footwear manufacture by Mr. V. W. Hogg) and some more practised hands provide substantial contributions. Notably there is Dr. R. W. Greaves's chapter on the parliamentary history of Leicester from 1660 to 1835, which includes an interesting study of the remodelling of its charter under Charles II and James II and goes far to clear the Corporation from the charge of Jacobitism levelled against it from the eighteenth century onwards. Mr. C. T. Smith's surveys of the physical growth of the city, inserted at various points in the chapters on social and administrative history since 1660, are models of lucidity and scholarship. Mr. R. H. Evans, despite some handicap from the separation (in the main, essential for clarity) between parliamentary and administrative history which the scheme of the volume imposes on him, illuminates very effectively the electoral and party politics of Leicester during the past century and a quarter. The topographical articles are the product of painstaking industry in the form of solid information competently presented. Of the maps, plans and photographs it should be sufficient to say that here the high standard of Volumes II and III is fully maintained.

University of Southampton

A. TEMPLE PATTERSON

A HISTORY OF LONDON LIFE. By R. J. Mitchell and M. D. R. Leys. London: Longmans. 1958. 302 pp. + 24 plates. 25s.

All those who enjoyed the Misses Mitchell and Leys' *A History of the English People*, whether for straight reading or for reference, will be equally delighted with *A History of London Life* from the same authors. There is the same very human approach, the same illumination of a theme with new and fascinating details, and the same pleasant look and 'feel' about the whole production. The story runs from the earliest times to the foundation of the London County Council in 1888. It is divided into fifteen chapters, each linked with a different personality or family: Chaucer, The Greshams, John Evelyn, the Russells, the Chippendales, Edwin Chadwick, Prince Albert, and many others, serve to introduce us to the daily lives of rich and poor, of craftsmen, writers, children, visitors from the country and from abroad—in fact to the whole teeming, noisy, smelly and enchanting medley which was London before the internal combustion engine, the tube and the telephone came to blur its outlines and disperse its vitality. The theme is restricted to the story of the people of London and the book is neither a history of England, nor of the city of London itself. Court and Parliament and Church play little part on this vast stage, except when their policies and decisions affected closely the daily lives of the people. The illustrations are excellently chosen from contemporary sources and the very full index is a delight to the browser.

Geffrye Museum

MOLLY HARRISON

Mr. Ian Grimble was clearly performing a labour of love when he wrote,

aided by diligent research, the story of THE HARRINGTON FAMILY (London: Jonathan Cape. 1957. 255 pp. 28s.). It is, of its own kind, a welcome contribution to the sources now becoming more available and increasingly studied for the history of families; serving to illuminate aspects of both economic and social history in general. The Harrington family is not the less important because no member from the time of John, Lord Harrington, who died in 1347, and was to all intents and purposes the founder of the family, played anything more than a useful but quite ordinary part in affairs. It is precisely of such people, the weave and warp of English history from day to day and age to age, that we are glad to know more. In this case, there is an interesting sideline to be followed up; which is not neglected by Mr. Grimble, namely the taste for literature which showed itself in successive generations, notably in that John Harrington, some of whose poetry, from which Mr. Grimble gives us charming quotations, was written in the Tower under Mary, and some in happier days when Elizabeth was on the throne; in his son, John, who in one poem addressed to his Queen signed himself her 'saucy godson', and got into trouble over his beautifully produced *Orlando Furioso*; in Lucy, Countess of Bedford, born Harrington, the friend of Donne, to whom so many dedications survive; and, pre-eminently, in James who, with his *Oceana* plunged into the sea of political theory. After this it must be remarked that, while Lucy and James were undoubtedly of the true Harrington blood, the same cannot be said for the two poets. As Mr. Grimble himself points out, the descent of their father, one Alexander, rests on assumptions, admittedly good assumptions but with a lack of strict historical evidence. It is precisely here that lurk many pitfalls for the investigator into genealogies. The pedigrees of the sixteenth century, not excluding those drawn up by the heralds, were a curious mixture of error and truth.

Mr. Grimble allows himself rather too many generalizations and *obiter dicta* concerning historical events and personages, who, for him, are merely the background against which the Harrington family play their parts. Not everyone, for example, will agree with his verdict on Robert Cecil as 'mean in his style, mean in his attempts at wit, and meanest of all in his friendship'. Also, some errors have been noted. In filling in the background, Mr. Grimble is of course entitled to his own opinion on Lucy Harrington, Countess of Bedford, although students of literary history rate her power and influence more highly than he does, but some of his facts in this instance are demonstrably wrong. Her husband the third Earl did not, as he states categorically, acquire the house called 'The Moor'. It had been bought long since by his grandfather. For the grandson, as Mr. Grimble does not state, it was used as a place of confinement, allowing a radius of only five miles round, after his rash participation in the Essex Plot. Bedford House on the north side of the Strand certainly did not have, nor could have had, gardens sloping down to the river. It is the loose generalizations and such erroneous descriptions as the foregoing which make it desirable that historians using the book should check Mr. Grimble's statements very carefully. They will, however, be grateful to him for all he has elucidated concerning the Harringtons.

GLADYS SCOTT-THOMSON

GLOUCESTERSHIRE STUDIES. Edited by H. P. R. Finberg. Leicester University Press. 1957. xiii + 304 pp. 30s.

NORFOLK ASSEMBLY. By R. W. Ketton-Cremer. London: Faber. 1957. 240 pp. 28s.

A HISTORY OF WREXHAM. Edited by A. H. Dodd. Published for the Wrexham Borough Council by Hughes and Son, Wrexham. 1957. xi + 364 pp. 25s.

THE FIRST LEDGER BOOK OF HIGH WYCOMBE. Transcribed and edited by R. W. Greaves. Buckinghamshire Record Society, Vol. 11. 1957. xix + 330 pp.

These four volumes illustrate the diversity of approach and technique in the field of local history. Mr. Finberg's *Studies* is intended to 'prepare the ground for that "history of the people of Gloucestershire" which is waiting to be written'. It is not well designed for this purpose, since a third of it consists of reprints of articles which such an historian would in any case consult for himself and there is, besides, a certain amount of padding. Thus, it seems neither useful nor relevant to revive the theory, based on the merest conjecture, that America derives its name from the Bristol merchant, Richard Ameryk: and the Sir Robert Morton whose will is included among the 'Sheaf of Documents' was *not* the Cardinal's nephew.

But despite this air of book-making, the volume contains some important new contributions to knowledge, notably in Mr. Finberg's own papers on 'Some Early Gloucestershire Estates'—an excellent and closely-reasoned piece of 'history on the ground'—and 'The Genesis of the Gloucestershire Towns'. In the modern period Dr. E. A. L. Moir's article on 'The Gentlemen Clothiers . . . 1750-1835' is of great social as well as economic interest, though it is rather descriptive than analytical and does not attempt to trace or explain the emergence of this distinctive phase in the history of the cloth trade. Dr. Moir also contributes a welcome study of Sir George Onesiphorus Paul, the archetype of those reforming Justices of the eighteenth century who 'initiated the local experiments without which the centralized reforms of the nineteenth century would never have been possible', and a paper on the historians of Gloucestershire which appropriately concludes the volume. An essential part of the history of every county is its historiography and it is to be wished that there were more general surveys of this kind.

Gloucestershire Studies is a striking testimony to the resources of the County Records Office and the City Library. There is far less organized provision for historical research in Norfolk and most of the manuscript material that Mr. Ketton-Cremer uses is either in Bodley or in private hands. His interest is rather in Norfolk people than in the people of Norfolk and he is fortunate in a county so rich in characters and in dramatic episodes. Like his two previous volumes (*Norfolk Portraits*, 1944, and *A Norfolk Gallery*, 1948), *Norfolk Assembly* is easy and delightful reading because his theme is so very much a part of himself. The series of biographical studies which forms the first half of the book begins with Sir William Paston, an example of the many personal tragedies of the Civil War, and ends, quite naturally, with a Buchan-like sketch of one of his own contemporaries, the late A. P. D. Penrose. The resurrection of local worthies needs a very sure hand, but, because he understands them so well, Mr. Ketton-Cremer manages to bring his assembly to life without ever seeming condescending or opinionated or sentimental. Not all the essays are biographical, however, and one of the most interesting

deals with the 'Tour of Norfolk', a well-recognized diversion of eighteenth-century travellers, who did the round of the six Great Houses—Blickling, Raynham, Houghton, Holkham, Wolterton and Narford—or, following Arthur Young, came to study improved agriculture.

The *History of Wrexham* is an official undertaking, published to mark the centenary of incorporation. But the 'capital of North Wales', as one eighteenth-century writer calls it, was an important place long before 1857 and its history reflects the vicissitudes, social and political, of a border town. Originally a part of Welsh Maelor, it became, after the Edwardian Conquest, the chief urban centre of the marcher lordship of Bromfield and Yale, which escheated to the Crown in 1495. It remained, however, a predominantly Welsh community throughout the Middle Ages, even though its English name occurs as early as 1161. A gradual process of Anglicization began with the Acts of Union. In the sixteenth century many of the neighbouring landed families built themselves town houses in Wrexham, which thus developed, during the next 200 years, something of the aristocratic character of English provincial capitals. The activities of Parliamentary Committees after the Civil War and the spread of English Puritanism into Royalist Wales may well, as Professor Dodd suggests, have worked in the same direction. As a result, although, as late as the reign of Charles II, Welsh monoglots were estimated at a third of the population, a traveller in 1770 found Wrexham 'so perfectly Englished . . . that it bears no resemblance to the generality of Welsh towns'. But the later eighteenth century saw a striking reaction. The decay of the old-established smaller gentry and the rise of the great neighbouring house of Wynn of Wynnstay helped indirectly to make the town a commercial rather than a residential centre—a change observable in many English country towns in the age of the Industrial Revolution. Economic growth attracted migrants from the Welsh-speaking rural districts and with them came the influence of Welsh Methodism. The linguistic cleavage was also a social one, though the revival of a general interest in Welsh culture appears in the foundation of the Powys Cymmrodorion Society in 1819. Meanwhile the new industrial conditions involved administrative change: and the demand for a charter of incorporation arose directly from the campaign for the adoption of the Public Health Act after the cholera scare of 1848.

In the official *History*, this general pattern rather emerges than is explicitly worked out. The book is divided into two parts, dealing respectively with the development of the town and the history of its communal life and institutions—religious, social and economic, educational and military. It is the work of fourteen different contributors, all of them, in some sense, prominent Wrexham men. While thus avoiding, as its sponsors hoped, 'the cold detachment of the professional historian', the book as a whole is of unequal merit and rather falls between two stools. Recent municipal history is in any case very difficult to write except in terms of a progress report and the chapters on schools and Nonconformist chapels have little historical unity about them. The bibliography, too, is disappointing. On the other hand the scheme sometimes justifies itself, as in Colonel Jarvis Jones's lively account of the Royal Regiment of Artillery. Special praise is due for the numerous illustrations from prints of old Wrexham, so much of which, since the coming of the railway, has unfortunately disappeared.

The *Ledger Book* is the principal archive of the ancient borough of High Wycombe. It was presented to the Mayor and Burgesses by William Redhode, Mayor, in 1475 and was used as a miscellaneous entry book for more than 250 years. Earlier records, as far back as Edward I, are copied into it and chronological order is not always preserved. This edition gives a complete text (apart from an Edwardian inventory of church goods which has already been printed elsewhere), chronologically arranged as far as possible and with translations added of the Latin entries. Despite the wealth of material that it contains, on the Courts, the management of property, parliamentary and municipal elections, the enrolment of burgesses, trade companies and many other matters, it by no means gives us a complete history of the borough. There are various references to the political conflicts of the seventeenth century, such as the record of the reception of Cromwell's charter of 1658, which was afterwards cancelled with the words, 'Wee have a King come now God be prayسد'. But the whole story is worked out in Dr. Greaves's brief but admirable introduction, mainly from the Public Records and the second *Ledger Book*, which begins in 1684. There is an appendix of documents from the State Papers relating to Cromwell's interference with the corporation, the record of which was torn out of the *Ledger Book* in 1660. To the administrative historian, however, the very silences and omissions of the *Ledger Book* are significant. There is, for example, no mention of the charter of Philip and Mary of 1558, by which the town achieved full incorporation, and it is clear that the daily routine of business went on much as before. The Buckinghamshire Record Society is to be congratulated on an important addition to the printed sources for municipal history. The volume is attractively produced and exhaustively indexed.

University of Birmingham

PHILIP STYLES

It is difficult to imagine what useful object can be served by the two imposing volumes of the *DICTIONNAIRE DES BIOGRAPHIES* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1958. 2 vols. 1563 pp. 3600 fr. each vol.), published under the direction of P. Grimal. Beautifully produced, with 128 fine full-page plates, they contain a great array of potted biographies, too short to be of much value. There is usually a reference to one book on the subject of the notice, sometimes a useful source, but frequently a trivial or unreliable work, or another reference book.

A CONCISE HISTORY OF ART (London: Thames and Hudson. 1958. 548 pp. 717 illus. 35s.) by the Director of the Louvre, Germain Bazin, is a remarkable achievement. It covers the whole historical range of the plastic arts and has something to say individually of the work of a host of artists.

The well-known OXFORD HISTORY OF INDIA by V. A. Smith has now appeared in a third edition, edited by Percival Spear. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 3rd edition. 1958. 898 pp. 42s.). Sir Mortimer Wheeler has revised the pre-historic section; Professor A. L. Basham, the Hindu period; Mr. J. B. Harrison, the Muslim period, and the general editor himself has dealt with the period of British rule.

IN THE ORIGINS OF THE ENGLISH LIBRARY (London: Allen and Unwin. 1958. 255 pp. 25s.) Professor Raymond Irwin brings together, with some

revision, a series of articles originally published in the *Library Association Record*. Within a loosely chronological framework these review a variety of topics connected with the history of books and their readers since Classical times. The intention is as much to stimulate as to provide systematic instruction. The emphasis is on the private rather than the institutional collector of books.

A revised edition of Anatole G. Mazour's *MODERN RUSSIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY* (Princeton and London: Van Nostrand Co. 1958. xii + 260 pp. \$6.50), first published in 1938, extends the account to cover the condemnation of Pokrovsky and his followers in the late 'thirties and the rediscovery of the national greatness of Russia's past. Thus the distinguished historian Tarlé, who in 1937 had made it clear that Russian resistance to Napoleon in 1812 was *not* a national movement, in 1938 wrote a book to prove that it *was*. However, as late as 1949 nine out of thirteen members of the editorial board of *Voprosy istorii* were dismissed as guilty of cosmopolitanism. After the death of Stalin the pressure to write patriotic history seemed to have diminished; but historians in Russia must be politically a rather unreliable breed. In 1957, according to Mr. Mazour, again seven out of eleven members of the board of *Voprosy istorii* lost their positions because of their 'liberal interpretations'.

A warm welcome can be extended to *SELECTED HISTORICAL ESSAYS OF F. W. MAITLAND*, chosen and introduced by H. M. Cam (Cambridge University Press. 1957. xxix + 278 pp. 27s. 6d.). Thirteen essays, ranging from the first chapter of 'Township and Borough' to the history of English Law (the article from *Encyclopædia Britannica*), the Anglican Settlement and obituaries of William Stubbs and Mary Bateson display the wide range of Maitland's learning and sympathy; and Professor Cam's perceptive introduction will incite many to read Maitland's larger works again. By contrast V. T. H. Delany's *FREDERIC WILLIAM MAITLAND READER* (New York: Oceana Publications. 1957. 254 pp. \$1.00), which is apparently intended for law students, reads more like an anthology of legal epigrams.

Dr. G. P. Gooch is a former president of the Historical Association and the faithful Chairman of the Central London Branch. His historical associations go back to Acton and Prothero, Treitschke and Sorel. A liberal member of the great parliament of 1906, he writes of Campbell-Bannerman, Haldane, Morley, Bryce and others with close personal knowledge in his autobiography *UNDER SIX REIGNS* (London: Longmans. 1958. 344 pp. 25s.). International affairs came to dominate the inter-war years, but a devotion to the study of history runs all through; and students of history may feel that Dr. Gooch has given them a maxim when he writes, 'The worst treason a historian can commit is to pretend to higher authority, profounder wisdom and greater certainty than he possesses.'

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THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE—A PROBLEM OF INTERPRETATION¹

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WE ALL USED TO KNOW what to think about the Renaissance. In 1453 the Ottoman Turks captured Constantinople and scores of scholars fled to the West, bringing with them the precious manuscripts in which was preserved the priceless heritage of a classical civilization. The impact of this New Learning upon Italy and the rest of Europe was believed to be so startling and so powerful that historians felt impelled to seize upon the event as marking not only the end of the Middle Ages but the inauguration of a phenomenon which they termed the Renaissance. It was a German scholar, Cellarius, who in 1650 finally established the period from the fall of Rome to the fall of Constantinople as a Middle Age; an age of deterioration, barbarism, ignorance and bigotry now succeeded by one of progress, civilization and enlightenment. For many years this interpretation persisted. The Renaissance signified the revival of letters, and 1453 served as a useful date to indicate the end of the old order.

The purpose of this article is to show how the traditional view came to be rejected by historians as inadequate and misleading; and, secondly, to suggest in its place a definition of the Renaissance which relates its essential characteristics to the urban environment of Italy in the fifteenth century.

i

Some two hundred years after Cellarius, in 1860, the publication of *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* by Jacob Burckhardt did much to broaden the field of enquiry. For Burckhardt it was no longer the New Learning alone which was significant but, 'the discovery of man, rooted in the revival of antiquity, and its union with the genius of the Italian people'.² This, however, did not lead to any fundamental revision of the accepted story, and a fairly typical development of his views by John Addington Symonds still reflected the traditional approach.

¹ I wish to thank Professor Denys Hay of Edinburgh University who read and criticized my article. I, of course, am responsible for the views expressed.

² J. Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (trans.), 1951.

The arts and inventions, the knowledge and the books which suddenly became vital at the time of the Renaissance had long lain neglected on the shores of the Dead Sea which we call the Middle Ages. It was not their discovery which caused the Renaissance but it was the intellectual energy, the spontaneous outburst of intelligence which enabled mankind at that moment to make use of them.³

In its way this represented a useful synthesis, a comprehensive and plausible explanation of the meaning of the Renaissance, but it presented certain problems which soon became apparent to later scholars.

In the first place, Symonds' interpretation necessitated a belief in the Middle Ages as a 'Dead Sea', and furthermore it presupposed a sudden break with the past and the creation of a separate cultural unit by a 'spontaneous outburst of intelligence'. Both of these beliefs proved, in the final analysis, to be untenable. The study of medieval scholarship, art and literature soon revealed the intellectual vitality of the Middle Ages. The achievements of the Scholastics and the cathedrals of the Gothic architects could not be dismissed as negligible, and the research of medieval historians, along with a closer examination of the Renaissance itself, led to the realization that the two periods could not be arbitrarily divided. The roots of the Renaissance were in fact deeply embedded in the Middle Ages and instead of visualizing a sudden break with the past, the emphasis was now laid on the element of continuity. The simple synthesis was overthrown and historians had to begin afresh.

As a result, they set out to identify the essential characteristics of the Italian Renaissance, to isolate them and to search for their roots in the past. Unfortunately, this approach, necessary though it was, led them into difficulties. Some art historians demonstrated the Gothic influences to be found in the sculpture of Nicolo Pisano and his successors, while others traced the new styles in painting to Giotto, to Cimabue and even to the artists of Byzantium. A 'proto-Renaissance' of Romanesque styles was postulated to explain the architecture of twelfth-century Tuscany and Provence from which Brunelleschi derived the proportions of his Ospedale degli Innocenti at Florence, and there were others who made much of the use of classical motifs by Carolingian sculptors.⁴ Meanwhile, literary historians found in Dante the creator of *il dolce stil nuovo*, despite Petrarch's objection to the use of the vernacular in the *Divina Commedia* and despite the fact that in other respects Dante remained as medieval in outlook as Saint Thomas Aquinas whose theology he incorporated in his poem.

Those who identified the Renaissance with classical scholarship appeared to be on firmer ground until they discovered that at no time in the Middle Ages had the European scholar been completely out of

³ J. A. Symonds, *The Renaissance in Italy*, 1875-86.

⁴ Cf. N. Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture*, 1943; J. Pope-Hennessy, *An Introduction to Italian Sculpture*, Vol. I, *Italian Gothic Sculpture*, 1955; E. Panofsky, 'Renaissance or Renascence' in *Kenyon Review*, 1944.

touch with certain parts of the legacy of Greece and Rome. The poetry of the wandering scholars, the catalogues of monastic and private libraries and the writings of the Scholastics revealed an acquaintance with the classical authorities which showed the Renaissance in an entirely new light. The myth of medieval ignorance and neglect was destroyed. The Church had disapproved most strongly of any unbridled enthusiasm for classical literature but there were many scholars whose attitude to the past was as adulatory as that of any Florentine humanist. The medieval student put his trust in Ptolemaic astronomy, Aristotelian physics, Galenic medicine and Roman law, while the Realism of Scholastic philosophy owed a great deal to the Platonic theory of intuited universals.⁵ As a result, certain historians were forced to the conclusion that if the Renaissance had sprung from any acquaintance with classical literature, then its inauguration would not be the fall of Constantinople but the reign of Charlemagne.

In other fields, the love of nature could be traced back variously to Saint Francis of Assisi and Petrarch, the cult of fame to the chroniclers of chivalry, and the secular approach in politics to Marsiglio of Padua.

All this was extremely suggestive but also highly confusing. The Renaissance seemed to have lost its identity. As a many-sided phenomenon, its various aspects had been traced back to a variety of sources which were otherwise unconnected; to Dante and Saint Francis, to the twelfth-century humanists and the thirteenth-century Scholastics, to the reign of Charlemagne and the Sicilian court of Frederick II. Even more perplexing, the Renaissance had lost its chronology. Instead of 1453 and the sudden break with the past, a few scholars, such as Professor Barraclough, could write of, 'a chain of renaissances leading back step by step into the twelfth century'.⁶

This could go on indefinitely. The danger was that in concentrating upon the element of continuity the historians were imposing another pattern or synthesis as false or as misleading as the one they had overthrown. Whatever new interpretation they proposed, they could not ignore the fact that something of importance, with a character all its own, had emerged in fifteenth-century Italy. It was undeniable that the Italians of the period felt self-consciously different from their predecessors, and from their contemporaries in the rest of Europe; and that perhaps for this reason they invented the concept of a medieval lacuna. The Goths were now stigmatized as 'nazioni barbare e strane', and Lorenzo Valla in his *De Lingua Latina Elegantia* assumed that since the fall of Rome the study of Latin had fallen into neglect. Equally axiomatic for Ghiberti was the idea that standards in art had deteriorated, and Leon Battista Alberti ascribed the foundation of the new arts to his

⁵ Cf. R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries*, 1955; H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe* (ed. Powicke and Emden), 1936; and G. Highet, *The Classical Tradition, Greek and Roman Influence on Western Literature*, 1949.

⁶ G. Barraclough, *History in a Changing World*, 1956.

contemporaries of the fifteenth century. They believed that the civilization of the ancients had been ignored and that its revival was the work of their own day; an attitude epitomized by Marsilio Ficino. 'This is an age of gold which has brought back to life the almost extinguished liberal disciplines of poetry, eloquence, painting, architecture, sculpture, music and singing to the Orphic Lyre.'

The break with the past was nowhere made with dramatic suddenness but it is impossible to doubt the novelty of the period as a whole. The earlier roots, if we call them that, lacked the vigour of the Renaissance proper and did not have so great and so stimulating an effect upon scholarship, art and philosophy. If the development was cumulative and continuous, it is also true that the whole proved to be much greater than the sum of the parts.

What had happened to produce this? Was it simply the impetus of a movement, born in the far-distant past and gathering momentum throughout the Middle Ages; was it the seventh wave breaking through or was there some new compulsive force which distinguished the Renaissance from the 'renaissances' of the past? The study of the roots has shown how diverse and disparate they were: there could be no continuous, organic growth from these. We are forced to seek some new compulsive force, and this, I suggest, is to be found in the urban environment of Northern Italy. Here it was that the feudal and ecclesiastical elements which had been so powerful in formulating the standards of Europe in the Middle Ages were now superseded by the urban and secular forces developed in the city-states.⁷

In one respect we are on extremely sure ground, for the existence of this environment is beyond doubt. The question remains why should it have had such remarkable results? An attempt must be made to provide an answer. The growth of the Communes in Lombardy and Tuscany led to the creation of a society of merchants with which the old nobility merged, on the merchants' terms. City life became the norm. As early as the thirteenth century, Salimbene of Parma, commenting on the difference between Italy and other countries, seized upon this as the distinguishing factor. North of the Alps the gentry lived on their estates, but in Italy the town house was the centre of their social life; to be rusticated was a sign of disgrace. Whereas country life gave little opportunity for the contact of mind and mind, city life provided the ideal environment for the promotion of intellectual activity. There was an additional factor of some importance. By the fifteenth century these city-states had, with few exceptions, fallen under the control of men who had achieved their position of eminence by the exercise of a ruthless and skilful ambition. Their weapons were treachery or political skill, the use of force or the wielding of economic power. Behind a façade of oligarchic government one family, as in fifteenth-century Florence, controlled the policies of the community; elsewhere, as in

⁷ Cf. W. K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought*, 1948.

Milan, a condottiere captain seized absolute power. Nowhere else in Europe was political authority so accessible to men armed with determination and driven by ambition. This then was the environment and it provides us with a vital clue to the real nature of the Italian Renaissance.

ii

In seeking a synthesis by which to identify the Italian Renaissance we may well revive Burckhardt's definition, provided its terms are modified and interpreted in the light of recent research. In other words, the Renaissance was a combination of individual self-consciousness with the whole-hearted acceptance and study of the models and ideas of a reappraised antiquity, the whole arising out of the environment of the Italian city-states. It represents not so much a sudden break as a change in emphasis, and certainly a change in standards. Above all, whatever the antecedents, the change is a self-conscious one. As we have said, the Italians of this period were very much aware of the novelty of their position; they were, 'conscious of living in an age of special productivity, different from the feudal and clerically minded past, and were not slow to emphasize the contrast'.⁸ The Renaissance is characterized by the reappraisal of classical standards, the provision of a new source of patronage which allowed these concepts to develop more vigorously, and the encouragement of a new attitude to life by which men were tempted to believe that they could achieve perfection in all things. It remains to be seen why the creation of this urban environment should have led to such results.

The study of classical literature proved to be of great value for the urban middle classes. By their commercial and industrial activity they had broken with the contemporary canons of social behaviour, and the Communes in fact had freed themselves from feudal tutelage in order that their inhabitants might pursue their aims without hindrance. But there was one serious disadvantage. The merchant who made his fortune and exercised some degree of political power in his city soon discovered that he wanted something more from life. To crown his success he desired the esteem of his fellows, in an age when the dominant virtues were those associated with knightly fortitude or monastic devotion. The merchant was neither soldier nor saint. What he demanded from society was an analogous recognition of his own virtues as a successful business man and a pillar of his local community. Therefore, as the Commune lay outside the world of feudal and ecclesiastical hierarchy, so he decided to adopt a scale of values which the medieval world as yet refused to acknowledge. He turned for inspiration to the city-state of antiquity. It was the obvious choice for an urban population, especially in a country where the landscape was strewn with the

⁸ E. F. Jacob, 'Renaissance Origins' in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 6 January 1956.

remains of a classical age. As early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries this trend was becoming apparent.

Rome with its consuls, its senate of notables, its rarely consulted popular assemblies, had an obvious fascination for the nascent oligarchies of Italy. . . . In Republican Rome, the leading citizens had been the recipients of the greatest respect, the highest honours which society had to offer, and they attained this distinction through the practice of civic virtues.⁹

Here was an admirable exemplar for the new class of merchants and bankers. As their foothold in North Italy became more secure and as they turned with interest to the literature of ancient Rome, so their enthusiasm for the past became more and more intense. Civic virtues were freely extolled. Palmieri, in his treatise on courtesy and social behaviour, praised the citizen who played an important part in society. 'He who passes his life in solitude and is neither experienced nor skilled in important matters, in public offices and in the business of the community, will never become just and courageous.'¹⁰ Nor did the process, once begun, stop at Rome. The readers of Cicero's *Ad Atticum* soon realized the debt owed by the Romans to the Greeks and became eager to find out more about them. In all this the work of the humanists was indispensable. Many of them were little more than pedants, but the effect of their work was to publicize the major part of Greek learning and literature. With the singlemindedness of fortune-hunters they tracked down the ancient manuscripts, and in their search they welcomed the scholars of Constantinople who could teach them Greek and provide them with the documents which had been preserved there for centuries. Manuel Chrysoloras and Argyropoulos were the most famous of the Byzantine scholars who settled in Italy, and among their pupils they numbered Leonardo Bruni, Poggio, Politian and even the German Reuchlin. By 1453 when Constantinople finally fell to the Turk the libraries of Venice, Florence and the Vatican were stocked with the learning of the ancients.

The urban environment had produced a new attitude to the past, and as this developed and expanded, there emerged an admiration of antiquity for its own sake. In the thirteenth century when, as Hans Baron indicates, the merchants and bankers of Italy lived on the edge of a feudal society,¹¹ the ecclesiastical order was still too strong for this nascent humanism to make any fundamental impact upon the rest of Europe, where the tendency was to select only those aspects of a pagan culture which might still be of value to a Christian civilization. By the fifteenth century the balance had altered. A Savonarola might echo the warnings of Saint Peter Damian against the vanity of such studies but the movement could no longer be stifled. If anything, the humanists tended to subordinate certain aspects of Christianity to the

⁹ R. R. Bolgar, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ Palmieri, *Della Vita Civile*.

¹¹ Cf. H. Baron, 'A sociological interpretation of the early renaissance in Florence' in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 1939.

authority of the ancient philosophers. Some became frankly indifferent to the teaching of the Church and adopted a form of Epicureanism, genteel or sensual; others were attracted to the doctrines of the Stoics. The pragmatic Aristotelianism, tinged with Averroism, of Padua was rivalled by the Neo-Platonism of the Florentine and Venetian Academies.

The second effect of the urban environment was the provision of a new source of patronage. The bankers, the merchant princes and the despots wanted fame and glory for themselves and their cities. They had wasted no time in acquiring their wealth or their political power and they were not prepared to wait indefinitely for posterity to accord them the honour which they desired so intensely. In many cases they were well aware of the uncertainty of their position, for the sudden turns of fortune could lead overnight to financial ruin, political proscription or military defeat. As a result, the scholars, artists and sculptors who had formerly been in the service of feudal princes or the Church, were summoned to the towns to record the achievements of their new patrons and to embellish the splendours of their palaces and courts. The new rulers, in particular, were especially lavish in their patronage. They had greater financial resources, and in a world of rapidly changing regimes it was only natural that successive rulers should seek to establish their order through influence and build up an atmosphere of respectability to conceal the novelty of their situation. The patronage of scholars and artists was a means to this end and so they sought to attract those whose reputation would enhance their own.¹² The civic authorities of Florence had commissioned Giotto to superintend their new cathedral, not on account of his skill as a master mason, for at that date he had had no experience of such work, but because as an artist he was the most famous in Italy. In the same way, Giovanni Rucellai, a Florentine merchant, ordered the construction of palaces and churches, 'for they do honour to the Lord, to Florence and to my own memory'. To make certain of the last point, he ordered that his name be emblazoned across the architrave of his church of Santa Maria Novella, a device adopted for the same reason by Sigismondo Malatesta at Rimini. Cosimo dei Medici summed up one aspect of this type of patronage when he wrote: 'I know my fellow citizens. In fifty years' time they will only remember me by the few poor buildings I leave them.' So it was that, not only in Florence but throughout Italy, the new rulers transformed their courts into centres of learning and schools of art. In Ferrara the Este, in Ravenna the Malatesta, in Urbino the Montefeltri, in Milan the Sforzas, and in Venice the oligarchs of the Golden Book, competed with each other for the services of artists and scholars.

The arrangement suited both parties. By great good fortune the patrons frequently possessed not only the leisure and the money to

¹² Cf. A. von Martin, *The Sociology of the Renaissance* (trans.), 1944.

indulge their tastes but also a sophisticated and intelligent understanding of the artist's achievement. 'Geniuses', wrote Cosimo, 'are celestial beings and not pack asses.' Not all patrons were so liberal-minded. They had their own prejudices and preferences, and even restricted the artist on occasion by the terms of his contract, but, unlike the ecclesiastical patrons of the Middle Ages, they had no basic cause to dictate too closely on matters of style. There was, moreover, some prestige to be gained by commissioning an artist whose techniques attracted attention by their novelty. The artist could indeed offer to confer immortality upon his patron. Mantegna was commissioned to glorify the Gonzaga dynasty at Mantua in the Camera degli Sposi; a series of artists contributed to the frescoes at Ferrara commemorating the daily life of Borso d'Este, and Gozzoli incorporated the Medici family in his Journey of the Magi. In general, the artist was given the opportunity to experiment more freely than at any time during the Middle Ages, and it is this freedom, combined with the renewed interest in classical styles and the humanism of the age, which does much to explain the astonishing development in both art and architecture from the fourteenth century to the High Renaissance of Raphael, Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci.¹³

Finally, the new urban classes and their rulers were not only excellent patrons; the manner of their rise to power had a profound effect upon the Italian's attitude to life. Their successes seemed to indicate that the individual, whether condottiere, clerk or merchant, could do anything if he were sufficiently skilful and ruthless. 'In our change-loving Italy,' wrote Aeneas Sylvius, 'where nothing stands firm and where no ancient dynasty exists, a servant can easily become a king.' Similarly in the commercial world where a merchant could become an international figure and the creditor of kings, the rules of compound interest encouraged the belief that wealth had no limits. The result of so many success stories was to destroy the barriers to ambition, and the voyages of discovery coincided with, and confirmed, this new spirit in society. 'Man can do all things if he will,' wrote Alberti, and *l'uomo universale* became the hero of the new age. Because there were no longer any limits imposed upon man's ability, the Italians sought to achieve perfection in every sphere of life, an attitude which revealed itself in a variety of ways. The humanist pedant polished his epigrams and double-checked his grammar until he could emulate a purer Ciceronian style than ever Cicero had achieved; Machiavelli demonstrated how the art of government might be exercised to perfection, and Castiglione attempted to portray the ideal companion of princes.¹⁴ Benvenuto Cellini in the manufacture of his salt cellars and Raphael in the

¹³ Cf. B. Berenson, *Painters of the Italian Renaissance*, 1954; A. Blunt, *Artistic Thought in Italy*, 1946.

¹⁴ Cf. Machiavelli, *I Discorsi* and *Il Principe*; H. Butterfield, *The Statecraft of Machiavelli*, 1944; B. Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano* and G. della Casa, *Il Galateo*.

painting of his Madonnas, both strove to attain a standard of perfection in their respective arts which could never be rivalled; while Leonardo da Vinci, rather than fall short of the perfectionist aims which inspired his creative activity, was compelled to leave much of his work unfinished. It was this same preoccupation with perfection, acquired by Copernicus after his studies in Italy, which led him to adopt the heliocentric theory. He could not explain it convincingly in terms of mathematics but it was the very perfection of the system which convinced him of its ultimate validity, 'for we find under this orderly arrangement, a wonderful symmetry in the universe, and a definite relation of harmony in the motion and the magnitude of the orbs, of a kind it is not possible to obtain in any other way', an attitude which reflected Alberti's definition of architectural perfection and beauty as, 'the harmony and concord of all the parts achieved in such a way that nothing could be added or taken away or altered except for the worse'.¹⁵

We are not concerned here with any consideration of the value of the Italian Renaissance for that is a controversy of a different nature. Our purpose is to find a clue to its nature and, all in all, it seems to lie in the urban environment of North Italy. Whatever characteristics we may trace back to the Middle Ages, however much we may emphasize the element of continuity with the past, we must still affirm that the Renaissance could not emerge in all its vigour and complexity until a favourable environment had been prepared. This was not achieved in any real sense much before the fifteenth century, and its consequences, as we have seen, were not only the reappraisal of antiquity and the provision of a new kind of patronage which encouraged new developments in art and scholarship, but also a fundamental change in man's attitude to himself and his place in the universe, which stimulated him to believe in his own ability to do all things well.¹⁶

¹⁵ Cf. H. Butterfield, *The Origins of Modern Science*, 1948.

¹⁶ Cf. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 4, 1943, for a symposium of articles which relates to points discussed in this paper; especially H. Baron, 'Towards a more positive evaluation of the fifteenth-century Renaissance'; D. B. Durand, 'Tradition and innovation in fifteenth-century Italy'; P. O. Kristeller, 'The place of classical humanism in Renaissance thought'; E. Cassirer, 'Some remarks on the originality of the Renaissance'; L. Thorndyke, 'Renaissance or pre-Renaissance'.

THE APPRENTICESHIP OF A PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, 1903-1919

JAMES EADIE TODD

Late Professor Emeritus of the Queen's University of Belfast

[This little autobiographical sketch was written in April 1949 by the late James Eadie Todd, Professor of History in the Queen's University of Belfast, 1919-45. A volume of essays in British and Irish History, to be presented to him by his former pupils and colleagues, was then nearing completion, but an introduction had still to be written in the form of an appreciation of him as an historical teacher. The three editors, Professor Quinn, Professor Moody and I, had no precise knowledge of the influences which had helped to determine his attitude to historical studies and his methods of teaching history in a provincial university. Our correspondence at that time would reveal a number of correct deductions and well-informed guesses, but also much that proved wide of the mark. It quickly became clear to us that only Todd himself could provide the answer to our question and, since we had been his pupils, members of his staff and his close friends for many years, there was no embarrassment in putting it to him. 'How', he replied, 'can I answer your question save by waxing autobiographical?', and he wrote *currente calamo*, in a very much more relaxed style than he normally used, the reminiscences which are printed here (with the omission of a few intimately personal passages).

Much of the interest of these reminiscences lies in the contrast between two methods of academic teaching: the formal lecture of which Sir Richard Lodge was so magnificent an exponent, and the tutorial method in the hands of one of its most successful practitioners, A. L. Smith, and the impact of these upon an able young Scot who made his way from Edinburgh to Balliol in 1908. They are seen through the eyes of a retired professor of history and sharpened, no doubt, in the reflected light of experience, but not distorted. 'On balance', he confesses, 'it was the Edinburgh influence, the influence of Lodge, which ultimately shaped my developing views on the teaching of history.'

Todd himself was an academic lecturer in the grand manner; a stylist, as so many of his generation at Balliol were, whose mastery of the English tongue needed no flashy epigrams to create its effect. Rigorous analysis, meticulous exposition and 'the inexorable unfolding of the sequences of cause and effect', which he so greatly admired in Lodge, made his lectures a splendid and impressive vehicle of historical instruction. They had the defects of their virtues, for they tended to breed in many students an unthinking acceptance of authority in the study of history. Only those who took their problems and

doubts to him after a lecture could profit fully from Todd's teaching and the encouragement to question and criticize which he knew to be so needful. It was a case of Hobson's choice for, in a provincial university between the wars, with large classes and a very small staff, a tutorial system was impossible.

In the 'third generation' the influence of Lodge—the emphasis upon systematic study—inherited through Todd, is still strong. Experience of both systems at the feet of distinguished teachers has led one, at least, of this generation to believe that Todd's summing up of their relative merits is just. But are these the only means of teaching history? I would suggest that a third method, that of the seminar, could with advantage be more fully exploited at undergraduate level, both in the older and in the civic universities, in conjunction with the lecture and the tutorial. H. A. CRONNE]

MY FATHER was a country minister, whose salary never exceeded £260 a year. He was a good scholar and a faithful pastor, and since he was my first hero, I probably derived from him my strong desire to be of service to others. Somehow or other he contrived for the last four years of my preliminary education to send me to one of the leading Edinburgh schools. He indicated to me, however, that since there were two younger members of the family to consider, I must try to provide for myself by scholarships and in other ways, from the time I entered the University. This I managed to do, putting myself through a five years' course at Edinburgh and two-and-a-half years at Oxford without costing him a penny. These were the most formative years of my life and the happiest. I worked far too hard, and probably laid up a legacy of health troubles for later years, but I savoured to the full the joys of independence. I was my own master, and became a great individualist. Ambition and impatience to get on worked in me like yeast. I played a full part in student social life, and early savoured the joys of leading and influencing others.

I came to history by the purest accident. My intention had been to take Honours in English Literature under Saintsbury. But the hour of the English lectures clashed with one of the tutorial jobs by which I eked out my scholarship income; so I switched to history, encountered Lodge and met my fate. I have written elsewhere of the terrific impression he made on me.¹ But, till after taking my degree, I had no thought of turning to history as a career. Like so many Scottish sons of the manse, I had been destined for the Church, and had accepted this prospect with unthinking complaisance. Lodge's inexorable unfolding of the sequences of cause and effect shattered my easy belief in the providential ordering of human affairs, with the result that I abandoned all thoughts of the ministry and began to prepare myself for the Indian Civil Service Examination, staying on at Edinburgh for a fifth post-graduate year in order to take a variety of subjects outwith the bounds of the History

¹ See D. B. Horn, 'Sir Richard Lodge and Historical Studies at the University of Edinburgh (1899-1925)' in *The Scottish Historical Review*, xxvii, no. 103 (April 1948), 77-85.

Honours curriculum. The new orientation of my plans was of short duration. . . . I cast about me for an alternative career. With a very high level of distinction prevailing in the Edinburgh Arts staff of my student days, the possibility of attaining to an academic career presented itself to me as a doubtful but delectable prospect. It required a double dose of courage and self-confidence when it was Lodge who had to be faced, for to the student body he never unbent. He awed and charmed us from a distance, exercising his sway over us by intellectual power and oratorical brilliance and not by human sympathy.² Though I had been in the previous year or two his most promising student, I doubt whether in all that time I had exchanged a hundred words with him. It was therefore with fear and trembling that I sought an interview with him, told him of my ambition and of my intention to sit for an Open Exhibition at Oxford. His reply was favourable, but characteristically brief and to the point. 'Yes, I think you carry the guns, but I can't have you going to a second-rate college. . . . I shall write to the Balliol dons and suggest that they offer you an Exhibition. You should hear from them within a few days.' No expression of gladness that I was thinking of academic work; no invitation to let him know how I was getting on. Such ease-making amenities did not consort with his Jove-like remoteness. Within three weeks of the interview with him, the irregularly elected exhibitor presented himself at Balliol College gate.

And now it was to be my singular good fortune to become the pupil of another great man, who was in many ways the very antithesis of Lodge. The latter was one of the most physically impressive men I have ever known, but I don't remember ever having seen him smile. A. L. Smith, whose nickname was Smug, was short in stature, a neat little round-faced man with bald head and side whiskers. Though already over middle age in 1908, he was a perfect volcano of physical and mental energy. He had a pair of eyes which could be as penetrating as Lodge's but which—as often as not—were dancing with humour. He was utterly unconventional, and enjoyed baiting over-serious and pedantic folk. While Lodge cowed an offender with one devastating thrust, Smith by a pyrotechnic display of wit and raillery made one feel an ass but not a worm. Lodge was the finest exponent of the formal lecture technique that I have ever listened to. Smith's lectures were quite informal, almost conversational, but immensely useful. For Smith, lecturing was only a subsidiary method of instruction, primarily adapted to the needs of low-brows. Where he excelled, though naturally not with uniform brilliance, was in the critical tutorial method. For able pupils, prepared to work for him and who understood his method, Smith was for decades the finest History Tutor in Oxford. You read your essay to him; if it was a good one, the effect was to stimulate him. He rose from his chair and wandered about the room, pouring out—higgledy-piggledy and just as he recollected them—a torrent of criticisms, of leading questions,

² See, however, Margaret Lodge, *Sir Richard Lodge: A Biography* (1946), 88–90, 110–15, etc.

of points missed. Then he would take a swig from a jug of cider which he kept on the desk, ask you to re-read a certain passage from your essay, turn to somebody else in the little group and bark out 'Do you agree? What's wrong with that?' One got no time for leisurely reflection. If there was no immediate answer, he told you himself, but never in detail, just a hint and a reference and on to something else. On a good day, the whole thing reminded you of a superbly able counsel tearing to pieces the speech of his opposite number or pulverizing the latter's witnesses. But it wasn't much use to you, if you just sat back and enjoyed the firework display. Smith gave you illuminating points, and criticisms and references, but on principle he never elaborated them. He expected you to go away and work them out or look them up and then write a revised *précis* of your original essay. If you did this, you got all he had to give you; if you did less, you got next to nothing from him.

To myself, he was extraordinarily kind; braving the wrath of his formidable wife to give me extra individual tuition at ten o'clock at night; giving me my head and letting me take what I fancied in the way of lectures, persuading Vinogradoff to take me into his seminar composed almost exclusively of dons, demanding my company on long country walks during which he drew me out and teased me by attacking my cherished convictions or Scottish prejudices—all in the most kindly and playful way, and watching me like a hawk to see that I did not overwork. Thanks to him and in a lesser degree to H. W. C. Davis, Oxford provided me with the indispensable complement of Edinburgh, tempering the rigidities of the ex-cathedra method at its best, by inuring me to a milieu in which there was nothing that could not be questioned. I met, too, a new or almost new type of teacher, who thought it worth while to be interested in one as a person, to engage one on any topic under the sun, to play the Socratic gnat by stinging one into awareness, argument and revolt against deadening convention. It was all part and parcel of the wonderful common life in which undergraduates had a large part in educating one another. Although there was much that was frothy, mannered and perverse in the interminable nightly conversations we had in one another's rooms, the presence of contemporaries like Toynbee, G. N. Clark, Black, Paton, Guedalla and Arnold Lunn insured that there was also much that was serious, weighty and brilliant. To my own surprise I found myself quickly and thoroughly at home in the new environment, and shed many of my former inhibitions. I had, perhaps, more success than was good for me both in work and in college life. Just as had been the way latterly at Edinburgh, nothing seemed to go wrong for me. After six months, the College doubled the value of my exhibition; at the end of my second year, and shortly before Schools, I led the College in Final History Collections and duly got my First. I was also much flattered by the trust which the College reposed in me; using me as a steadying influence on some of the wilder spirits. . . . At this distance of time, I find it next to impossible

to recall by these stray touches the charm which Oxford life had for me. It was a heady experience, and gave me a brief dose of swelled head. . . . But sobering experiences were not far distant.

For several years to come, the Oxford and Edinburgh influences were at war within me. I never achieved a real synthesis, but on balance it was the Edinburgh influence, the influence of Lodge, which ultimately shaped my developing views on the teaching of history. Looking back, I was able to credit Oxford with having greatly extended the range of my knowledge without having added notably to its depth. The curse of the inter-collegiate 'Schools' competition tended to dominate the position, and in a sense—though only in a sense—A. L. Smith's wonderful technique was simply a superbly effective instrument for winning Firsts for Balliol. One's resultant knowledge of a period covered by the writing of tutorial essays resembled a series of widely-spaced beads on a string! On a whole series of individual topics one had full, adequate, even out-of-the-way information, with a sprinkling of novel and original ideas about its significance. But, as I found to my cost, when at a later date I came to write a series of lectures on the period, how colossal were the gaps in one's knowledge, how weak and attenuated was the string! What Lodge gave me, and what Oxford undergraduate tuition even at its best was never devised to give, was a passion for *systematic* knowledge. The same thing applied to the advanced studies and the research work I did at Oxford. The fact was, I fell between two stools. I went to Oxford to take Honours Schools and at the same time to engage in advanced studies and make a beginning with research. It was too ambitious a programme. True, I got most valuable bibliographical lectures—of immense service to me in later years—from both Firth and H. W. C. Davis. True also, I was initiated into Palæography by Falconer Madan and into Diplomatic by Poole. True also, I kept pace with the dons in Vinogradoff's seminar on the Denbigh Extent and produced a piece of research on the impact of manorial institutions on the Welsh tribal agriculture.³ But I got no *systematic* training in research, and was destined to feel the effects of this all through my career. Indeed, this is one of the reasons why I have no literary work to my name; the other being that far too many years elapsed before I was given adequate leisure from the teaching grind. (Not really till 1927 when I was forty-two.)

It might have been otherwise had I accepted an invitation from Lodge, which reached me shortly after the publication of the Final Schools results, to become his University Assistant. I used to think that in declining the offer I had made a prime blunder. There is an element of truth in this, though probably not so much as I once thought. Admittedly I should have learned much in serving under him, and since my duties would have been confined to marking papers and conducting a

³ *British Academy Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales*, I, *Survey of Honour of Denbigh*. Ed. Paul Vinogradoff and Frank Morgan (1914).

couple of weekly tutorials, I should have had ample opportunity for pursuing research. Yet the fact remains that though all Lodge's Edinburgh Assistants wrote books, not one of them ever got a Chair,⁴ from which one might conclude that the position was not a very good jumping-off ground. Actually I should have jumped at his offer, and reckoned the gods kind in allowing me to serve a teacher more impressive than any Oxford had revealed to me, had it not been for stark personal necessity. The salary Lodge offered me was £100 per annum on which, with difficulty, I could have kept myself. On the other hand, George Unwin had just vacated the Lectureship in Economic History and gone to Manchester. With an effrontery, the very thought of which now sends shivers up my aged spine, I decided to apply for it and for its emoluments of £250. I had been medallist in the subject at Edinburgh and also in Political Economy. I had kept it up by attending on the Oxford Lecturer's⁵ ministrations, and I had, of course, worked in the seminar of Vinogradoff—then, a magic name. I suppose that in the light of my academic career I seemed a promising youngster. In any case, I was appointed over the heads of men very much more learned in the subject than I was, and many years my senior. I was vastly proud of myself at the time: today I should like to be able to banish all recollection of this rally of local patriotism to my prosperous fortunes. I was due to deliver a Pass Course of seventy-five lectures, and an Honours Course of fifty, and worst of all, I had to deliver a formal Inaugural Lecture in the presence of the Principal and the Senatus Academicus. With this ghastly ordeal less than two months ahead, I packed a trunk of books, went down to my Father's manse, and read and wrote for twelve hours a day. The Inaugural took up most of my time, and I had only two weeks' lectures in the barrel when the Session commenced, a fact which scared me so stiff that I had no time for guilty reflections on the plausible impertinence of my Inaugural. There ensued a grim session's battle with the twenty-four hour day. All the exercise I took was the walk to and from the University to deliver my lectures; for the rest, I read and wrote feverishly all day and far into the night. Months later, Lodge did me the bare justice of saying that he did not know how I had done it. What *he* did not know was that fifty per cent of the lectures were so bad, that I promptly re-wrote them the following session. Between these first and second sessions I was married, and within six months my wife was dead. My friends rallied round me magnificently, and A. L. Smith, sure that he knew what the situation called for, wired me in June 1912, 'Am invited to nominate a candidate for vacant Lectureship in History, McGill University, Montreal. Advise you to accept.' What the old boy forgot to tell me, and what I did not discover till I paid my first visit to Principal Peterson's sanctum in McGill some three months later, was that the 'Lectureship' was a stop-gap affair *for one year only*, and that for the sake of this I had lightly

⁴ Professor D. B. Horn is a notable exception.

⁵ L. L. Price.

thrown away a permanent independent Lectureship. 'Sufficient unto the day', however, 'was the evil thereof.' And the evil took the shape of another formidable prospect of writing lectures for immediate delivery. I was to deputize for Professor C. W. Colby, who was ill and had a year's leave of absence. My job was to take the second-year people and part of the Honours work. The only other member of the staff was an American, Fryer by name, who had a permanent post as Assistant Professor and left me entirely to my own devices. Like a provident pedlar, I had arrived with all my stock-in-trade—in the shape of lecture notes, tutorial essays etc.—in my pack, but they were woefully deficient for the demands of the occasion. Happily, McGill had an excellent Library. The Honours work was fairly plain sailing—British Constitutional History to 1485 and European History from 1648 to 1789. Here I knew the ground well, and could hope to allow each previous day to provide for the needs of the morrow. But the Second Year Pass Course—a five-day-a-week affair—was one of those leviathan general courses which strike terror into the heart of the conscientious beginner—the History of Europe from the rise of Sulla to the death of Luther! At Edinburgh I had taken a brief Honours Course for classical students on Roman History from Cicero to Caesar [*sic*], and at Oxford my special period had been 919–1273. Apart from these two small areas of familiar ground, all was 'terra incognita'. There ensued an academic year of toil as grinding as had confronted me in my first year at Edinburgh. I saw little of the 'brave new world' to which I had come, save the snow-encumbered streets between my lodging and my lecture-room. But I liked my students and they liked me, as the pathetic dog-eared round robin among the enclosed 'select documents' goes to show.

Towards Christmas I had a breather and bethought me of my gloomy future. On the principle of 'any port in a storm' I decided to have a fling at the vacant chair in Melbourne University, but while I was busy collecting testimonials for this, John Laird, an old Edinburgh contemporary, who was Professor of Philosophy at Dalhousie and later at Queen's, wrote to inform me that the combined Chair of History and Economics at the former University was about to become vacant. The thought of professing Economics was certainly a bit of a facer. True I had been medallist in the subject at Edinburgh and had taken some honours classes in the subject. I also had my Economic History qualification to press into the service. Before taking any overt step, however, I thought it expedient to see old Peterson again and see if he had anything up his sleeve for me in the way of a permanent appointment at McGill. But he was not going to be rushed, and talked vaguely of 'waiting and seeing' till the end of the session. That was not good enough for me. Not wishing to worry them, I had not told my people how A. L. had landed me in the soup; but I was determined not to arrive home again in the summer as an unemployed gentleman of leisure, if I could contrive it otherwise. I called to mind that Professor Seth of Edinburgh

had at one time held the Philosophy Chair at Dalhousie and wrote to him, explaining the circumstances and inviting his good offices. Within little more than a month, I received a letter from President Mackenzie of Dalhousie, saying that he was to be in Montreal on a certain date and proposed to call on me. After half-an-hour's talk on the appointed day, he offered me the Chair, subject to formal confirmation by the Board of Governors. When the latter arrived, I gave myself the pleasure of informing Principal Peterson by letter of my swift and surprising good fortune. He mildly upbraided me for being so hasty, and offered me, 'if it was any use', a permanent appointment as Associate Professor at McGill at a salary £100 higher than I was due to receive at Dalhousie. Naturally, it would have been dishonourable to break faith with those who had come to my aid, though at McGill I should only have had history to profess.

After spending the summer months at home reading Economics, I took up my new post in September 1913. Halifax was then a city of some fifty thousand inhabitants, and I took to it and to Dalhousie immediately. In the University, the Scottish tradition was strong and many of my pupils came from long-settled Scottish families in Picton County and Prince Edward Island. Unaided I had to provide all the instruction given, both Pass and Honours, in History, Economics, Economic History and Political Science and I felt some affinity with 'the one-man band' who used to destroy the peace of Scottish country-towns in the days of my youth. My students were a fine lot of high average ability, though much more numerous than in Montreal. I had a Pass History class of eighty and a Pass Economics class of about fifty. All told, I delivered eighteen to twenty lectures a week, and gave five courses per annum; but for the first time in my career I had liberty to choose the subject-matter and scope of the latter, which was naturally a great easement to me. Economics, however, never ceased to be a thorn in my flesh, and the writing of my original lecture course on Economic Theory gave me more trouble than any other task of my career, from which it may be gathered that I was no born economist! To add to my preoccupations I soon found that the Halifax community had an insatiable appetite for public lectures and for the acquisition of 'culture'. A provincial capital, isolated by over eight hundred miles from the nearest of the large Canadian cities, it was very much dependent in matters of entertainment and 'uplift' on its own resources. I was soon enmeshed in a formidable list of engagements to address the Canadian Club, Burns and St. Andrew's Day Dinners, the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Church Guilds and School Prize Days. The Press was present at all these functions and I was freely and most barbarously reported. But this soon ceased to spoil my next morning's breakfast, for I quickly got to know that everybody who mattered knew of this sad and apparently ineradicable failing of the local Fourth Estate. Indeed the majority of them had been present at the lecture or had heard the

speech, for in those pre-radio days the charm of the spoken word had not been vulgarized. My colleagues (and their wives) turned out in force to hear me, happy in the knowledge that they had long since run through their own stocks of public lectures, and that for a blessed season the newcomer in their midst would carry on and save them the trouble of writing and thinking up new ones! It seemed impossible to overdraw on the enthusiasm and patience of these public gatherings. I remember how within a month of the outbreak of the 1914 war, I addressed an audience of over three hundred at a meeting of the local Canadian Club on 'The Causes of the War', and held them for over two mortal hours to their own astonishment when they consulted their watches as they rose to go. I soon got much more of this kind of thing than I bargained for, especially when small towns all over the Province began to request my services, and when I got rung up on the 'phone at all hours of the day for advice on reading, for verification of some matter of history or for my fiat on the proper pronunciation of a word! . . .

One day in the spring of 1915 I received a letter from the President of the State University of British Columbia, recently established at Point Grey, on one of the most beautiful sites in the world, to say that he was paying a visit to Halifax and would like to make my acquaintance. I was already familiar with this gambit, and so was prepared for the offer he made to me to become the first Professor of History in this new foundation. It was in many ways a tempting proposition—back to History only, with a considerable rise in salary, and a glorious climate in exchange for the fogs of Nova Scotia! But, by this time, my whole mind was dominated by the thought of the War and of my duty in regard to it. I was the only able-bodied male of military age in our family connection who was not in khaki, and hardly a week passed which did not bring me news of the death in action of one or more of my contemporaries at Edinburgh or at Oxford. [Todd had married again in 1914.] My wife's baby was due in September, and we already had a tentative plan for returning to Britain for the duration of the War, as soon thereafter as the family could be moved. So I declined the flattering offer, and put in the best part of another year in Halifax with such patience as I could command. It was a bad blow when President Mackenzie explained to me that the finances of Dalhousie would not permit of their paying me any portion of my salary during my leave of absence. . . . So, at the end of the winter session of 1915-16, we crossed the Atlantic, travelling by an American boat from New York in order to reduce the danger from submarine attack.

I do not propose to say much about my War Service. . . . By the pure luck of the draft, I was sent not to France but to Mesopotamia, where the chief danger to life was from disease and not from projectiles. I had my fair share of the former, both dysentery and malaria, and was eventually evacuated to India. So far as my own future was concerned, the only points worthy of mention are: (1) the firing of my historical

imagination by the sight of places such as Bagdad, Ctesiphon, Basra, Agra, Lucknow, the North West Frontier and Amritsar; (2) the long and much needed change from six years of constant and high-pressure lecture production; (3) the beginning of my friendship with Macbeath, and (4) that my war-time experiences had the effect of making me more restless than ever. It is surely eloquent evidence of the unsettling effect of field service in war-time on even the more intelligent section of the civilian population, that immediately after demobilization in 1919 I should have toyed with the idea of abandoning the academic profession in order to qualify as a doctor! . . . Happily, reunion with my wife and my family responsibilities soon brought this abnormal phase to an end.

I was still a sick man in 1919 and subject to recurrent attacks of malaria, but my war gratuity was not a large one and the future had to be speedily provided for. I was ready to return to Canada, but my wife was most reluctant to do so. She hated the winter cold and had found the horizon of Canadian women far too limited (for her taste) to the art of household management. I was, therefore, strongly urged to look about for an opening at home. I wrote to A. L. Smith who told me that the College would soon be proceeding to the election of a Tutorial Fellow in History. He gave me the approximate date and advised me to come up to Oxford a few days before it. I stayed in Balliol, and soon found out that I had a strong rival in Kenneth Bell. In the upshot it went to him, and my unjustifiably long record of successes was broken. In due course, we started to prepare for the return to Canada, and Dalhousie had most generously promised to pay our passages, to give me a sum of \$2500 for refurnishing and to raise my salary by £100. Our passages were actually taken, when one morning my wife pointed out to me in *The Scotsman* the advertisement of the vacant History Chair at Queen's. I applied and was summoned to interview on a date when we ought to have been half-way over the Atlantic. I cancelled our passages, took fresh ones for a later date, and wrote Mackenzie to the effect that I should either arrive ten days late for the beginning of the session or not at all! It was rather bad treatment but I felt a little less culpable when I reflected that if Dalhousie could be so financially generous to the returning ex-soldier, they could probably have afforded to do better than cut me off without a penny for the three years of my war service! Rather contrary to my expectation—for the Balliol business had shaken me—I was appointed. Little did I think, when I despatched my wire from the Botanic Gardens Post Office to my rejoicing half-Irish wife, that my wanderings were over, and that this was to be my home and sphere for the rest of my working life.

HISTORY BOOKS FOR SCHOOLS: VII

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THERE WILL ALWAYS BE A DEMAND for the comprehensive history book which spans vast periods of time and this is particularly true of the United States, where the third edition of *A Survey of European Civilization* has been published.¹ Beautifully produced and profusely illustrated, it is written in an urbane style which disguises the fact that much of what is said has been said many times before. The new edition does however treat post-war events as more than a postscript and tries to evaluate the changes brought about by scientific progress and by the resurgence of the Asian nations. An expensive book when dollars are translated into pounds, it is worth a place in the school library as expressing the view of the liberal-minded school of American historians. To attempt a similar wide survey in under three hundred pages calls for very special powers of condensation. Dr. Happold did it admirably in his *Adventure of History*. Pauline Gregg misses a great opportunity in her *Chain of History*.² The aim of the book we are told was to 'give sufficient detail in each episode to make it real in itself', and at the same time moving quickly enough through the centuries 'for their pattern to be observed'. The result is fifty-seven brief chapters mainly outlining English history, with an Ancient World introduction. Space is found for Canute and the waves, the fall of Constantinople is once again equated with the spread of Greek scholarship in the West and an unfortunate misprint places the meeting of the Estates-General in 1781. No room can be found for the scientific revolution.

The writer of text books aimed at specific ages in the Grammar School is on firmer ground. He knows that his wares will be tested by the fire of external examination and he is careful to divide up his thought into digestible sections. It is difficult, however, to avoid being pedestrian, and H. L. Peacock has not altogether succeeded in doing so in his *History of Modern Europe 1789-1939*.³ He has produced a workmanlike book in which he has in mind as well as the Ordinary Level candidate, the boy who has to adjust himself to the different level of advanced work. His treatment of the main topics is detailed and it is a pity that a full description of pre-revolutionary society in France

¹ Wallace K. Ferguson and Geoffrey Bruun: *A Survey of European Civilization*. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. 1958. 1005 pp. \$8.25.

² Pauline Gregg: *The Chain of History*. Harrap. 1958. 304 pp. 21s.

³ H. L. Peacock: *A History of Modern Europe*. Heinemann. 1958. 359 pp. 10s. 6d.

should omit the Parlement of Paris and that he should dismiss the efforts of Calonne so summarily. The new edition of *The Modern World* by S. A. Pakeman⁴ now covers the period from 1789 to 1957. Treating as he does not only Europe but the Commonwealth and the Far East he cannot go very deep, but he does achieve a useful outline of world events since 1945. *Britain under the Tudors and Stuarts* by Denis Richards⁵ covers a well-trodden field, but his distinction of style and regard for accuracy lifts his book out of the ruck. Mr. Richards admits that for a book aimed at the Middle School it is rather too much concerned with religious and political matters, but he does include excellent chapters on social life. In particular the portrait of Elizabethan England, seen through the eyes of an imaginary young country gentleman, catches not only the life but the philosophy and superstitions of the age. As an experienced writer of text books, Mr. Richards believes in the virtues of the continuous narrative, more or less chronological; he also values detail 'for the opposite course of generalization usually leaves only the vaguest of impressions'. This belief finds its expression in the contemporary illustrations, many of them woodcuts, which are a feature of this book. The diagrammatic summaries of events, although perhaps less imaginative than in some of his earlier text books, are also helpful.

The same belief in the value of accurate information and corroborative detail is the keynote of the new *Picture Source Book* drawn up with loving care by Mrs. Harrison and Miss Wells to cover the Middle Ages after 1066.⁶ The authors uncompromisingly believe that the contemporary illustration, even if it is small and difficult to interpret, is preferable to the impression by the modern artist, and that the young can appreciate the medieval extract. Given this belief, they have shown great skill in arranging very diverse material. They have wisely used well-known sources such as the Luttrell Psalter and the Paston Letters, but they have tapped many other sources. They have not omitted the amusing, for example the knight struggling out of his chain mail, and the priest reported to his Bishop, who 'preacheth well', but 'oftimes he departeth to reside at Moreton Hampstead, now for a fortnight, now for a week'. This is a valuable addition to this reference series.

One of the most unrewarding tasks is to write on the subject of the teaching of History. Dr. Strong has bravely entered the field with *History in the Secondary School*.⁷ He has already given his views on Primary History and he has recently completed a series of text books, so his views are of great interest. Dr. Strong concerns himself mainly with 'the great middle mass of the 11-15 group'. History holding a pivotal place between Arts and Science is, like Classics, essentially a humanist

⁴ S. A. Pakeman: *The Modern World, 1789-1957*. Macmillan. 1958. 390 pp. 12s.

⁵ Denis Richards: *Britain under the Tudors and Stuarts*. Longmans. 1958. 402 pp. 10s. 5d.

⁶ Molly Harrison and A. A. M. Wells: *Picture Source Book for Social History. From the Conquest to the Wars of the Roses*. Allen and Unwin. 1958. 130 pp. 12s. 6d.

⁷ C. F. Strong: *History in the Secondary School*. U.L. Press. 1958. 190 pp. 10s. 6d.

subject and of fundamental importance in the education of the adolescent. Outlining in commendable detail the history of English education from the monitorial schools to the 1944 Act, Dr. Strong argues that this Act, by committing the country to secondary education for all, gives a new importance to social subjects. The schools must build citizens as well as scholars; society must be both efficient and free. The chief danger, as he sees it, is that History may merely implant 'inert ideas', the purely verbal knowledge unrelated to experience. Hence we must think of the 'living past' if History is to fulfil its social and civic purpose. As regards syllabus Dr. Strong believes that each school must consider its own situation, but broadly he favours a modified chronological treatment which finds room to develop appropriate topics. Whatever the scheme it must stretch beyond our own island and must not avoid contemporary events. 'History is a natural and vital subject for adolescent children,' he says, 'but only if they see a connection between the past and their lives.'

Dr. Strong is critical of the 'patch' approach, which he finds too static and he argues that only the adult can successfully get 'under the skin' of a previous age. In the craze to use contemporary material, children, he feels, are often faced with indigestible fare. It is therefore interesting to examine the three new books in Dr. Margaret Reeve's *Then and There Series*.⁸ These are all aimed presumably at the older junior and the younger senior, and not only do they concentrate in time but they all are deliberately regional in approach. H. F. Davidson has perhaps the easiest terms of reference in tackling *The Golden Age of Northumbria*, which he has firmly based on Bede in order to tell the story of the conversion of the North and the resulting expansion of Christian culture. The text is kept very simple, the illustrations although based on contemporary work have been clearly redrawn, though the pagan temple on page 30 is still a puzzle. Patricia Donahue concentrates her picture with great success on Elizabethan Devon and Cornwall in her *Plymouth Ho!* the title of which is perhaps open to criticism. Without Bede to help her, she uses Richard Carew, the historian of Cornwall, makes use of the local records of Lyme Regis to describe life in a country town, and finds pirates in Weymouth. So her book is much more than the usual stories of Drake, Hawkins and Raleigh. The illustrations both in this and the third of the series, *Samuel Pepys in London*, by Eleanor Murphy, are all of a very high standard. Pepys' London is not all fire and plague, but the diary is used intelligently to reconstruct Restoration society, its dress and its homes. Pepys' own interests lead on naturally to the Royal Society, Music and the Theatre. His post on the Naval Board is the cue for a particularly authentic chapter on the Navy. Many teachers have tried to use Pepys as back-

⁸ Margaret Reeves (ed.). *Then and There Series*. Longmans. 1958. H. E. Davidson: *The Golden Age of Northumbria*. 92 pp. 3s. Patricia Donahue: *Plymouth Ho!* 92 pp. 3s. Eleanor Murphy: *Samuel Pepys in London*. 92 pp. 3s.

ground material and have failed to capture the interest of the class: Miss Murphy shows us what can be done.

E. K. Milliken has now brought his admirable series of background books to *The First Three Georges*,⁹ and if it seems less successful than some of the earlier ones, perhaps it is the period which is to blame. Certainly to summarize events from 1714 to 1820 in ninety pages is a daunting task. Mr. Milliken is happier in Part 1 describing Methodism, and the changes in Agriculture, Industry and Transport, although 1820 is in some ways an inconvenient stopping place. As always the inset extracts from contemporary sources are a valuable part of the book. Methuen's Outlines have added to their number *The Civil War and the Commonwealth* by R. R. Sellman.¹⁰ This treats of seventeenth-century methods of warfare in Mr. Sellman's usual competent manner. The events of the war are well done and well illustrated with careful diagrams. Whether this series is the best place to discuss the causes of the struggle and the events of the Commonwealth is more open to question, although they have been carefully done. The double-column format seems less well suited for this task.

The number of text books dealing with Africa is steadily increasing, and Sonia Cole has made a useful contribution with her *Early Man in East Africa*.¹¹ This short and economically produced introduction to African Prehistory is a soberly written account based on recent research. The text is well illustrated with useful diagrams and examples of early tools, pottery and cave art. The finds in Gamble's Cave in Kenya and in the Njoro River Cave are of general interest.

Oxford University Press has produced two attractive books, both of which in practice have a decidedly American flavour. The first, which is described as suitable for all ages, is *A Picture Book History of the United States of America*.¹² It is brightly and almost garishly illustrated, beginning with the American eagle on the cover. Professor Commager has had the hard task of providing the text, and he has shown great skill and humanity in his selection of material. From the beginning, he sees the United States as 'the land of the second chance', and he is at his best when he is describing the opening up of the continent. Davy Crockett has a mention, but so also has Johnny Appleseed who planted apple and cherry seeds wherever he went in Ohio. The stress is on ordinary people using their own initiative, just as the first settlers had done. If they wanted a school, they had to build one and find someone to teach in it. The second book is *Bridges* by John Stewart Murphy,¹³ most attractively illustrated by Charles Keeping on every page. This is less a history of bridges than a study of the problems of construction

⁹ E. K. Milliken: *The First Three Georges*. Harrap. 1958. 208 pp. 8s. 6d.

¹⁰ R. R. Sellman: *The Civil War and the Commonwealth*. Methuen Outlines. 1958. 82 pp. 10s. 6d.

¹¹ Sonia Cole: *Early Man in East Africa*. Macmillan. 1958. 104 pp. 4s.

¹² H. S. Commager: *A Picture Book History of the United States*. O.U.P. 1958. 61 pp. 12s. 6d.

¹³ J. Stewart Murphy: *Bridges, How they were Built*. Illustrated by Charles Keeping. O.U.P. 1958. 30 pp. 9s. 6d.

of specific bridges—Sydney Harbour Bridge is one and the Golden Gate Bridge, San Francisco, another—told by an engineer with technical accuracy. The disasters are there too, accentuated by Mr. Keeping's drawings.

The Junior History library is well served by two publications of Basil Blackwell.¹⁴ The illustrations have been chosen for both with great care and discrimination. *London*, by Brian Rees, is a racy account in which he reminds us that 'a love of History, is one of the destinations to which the London Bus can take us, if we are willing to travel there'. On the whole he does us very well, avoiding too much attention to familiar landmarks like the Houses of Parliament and tracing the story of London from Roman times until the present. E. W. Gladstone does a similar task for *The Royal Navy*.¹⁵ He is impressively accurate in his naval terminology, but he is less certain than Mr. Rees about the age for which he is writing. He is at his best in battle descriptions such as Jutland or the sinking of the Bismarck. He concludes with a well-thought-out book list. Both authors have some interesting thoughts on things to do.

The True Book Series is much more modest in its standards both of illustration and of scholarship.¹⁶ John Fisher gives a reasonably clear account of *The Civil War*, although 'The King on the Run' is not a very happy chapter heading. He keeps in the main to Charles and to Cromwell as the leading figures, and he spends a good deal of time on Charles' misadventures after Naseby. *Napoleon*, by Anthony Corley, is on similar lines, and gives in an unambitious manner a pedestrian account of the chief features of Napoleon's private life and military career.¹⁷

¹⁴ Brian Rees: *London*. Blackwell. 1958. 51 pp. 7s. 6d.

¹⁵ E. W. Gladstone: *The Royal Navy*. Blackwell. 1958. 79 pp. 7s. 6d.

¹⁶ John Fisher: *The Civil War*. Muller True Book Series. 1958. 142 pp. 8s. 6d.

¹⁷ Anthony Corley: *Napoleon*. Muller True Book Series. 142 pp. 8s. 6d.

EDITORIAL NOTES

WE ARE INDEBTED to Professor Cronne for the autobiographical fragment by the late Professor Todd. Besides its intrinsic interest, it raises questions about the methods of teaching in universities and colleges. Earlier in this century the pressure of numbers on the inadequate teaching staffs of provincial universities was intense, while Oxford and Cambridge could afford the time for individual tuition of every undergraduate. Conditions have changed, particularly since the Second World War, and in their problems all universities are now much closer to one another. If there were any general desire for a discussion of these problems we would be prepared to find space for it.

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Some subscribers may feel that an unduly large proportion of the journal is again given up to reviews and notices. This has been necessary to avoid an accumulation of belated reviews, but it is hoped that a more austere editorial policy in relation to reviews will prevent the necessity from arising again.

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Readers of Mr. Furley's article on 'The Pope-burning Processions of the late Seventeenth Century' in our last number may like to know that by a coincidence an article on 'The Pope-burning processions of 1679, 1680 and 1681' by Sheila Williams is published in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (vol. xxi. 104-18). This article deals primarily with questions of popular symbolism in the processions, and the two articles supplement one another interestingly.

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Mr. Christopher Howard writes: The *Internationales Schulbuchinstitut* at Brunswick, which does valuable work for the improvement of history textbooks, has in recent years published, in pamphlet form, a number of reprints from its *Internationales Jahrbuch für Geschichtsunterricht* (Brunswick: Albert Limbach Verlag), edited by Professor Georg Eckert and Dr. Otto-Ernst Schüddekopf. Each pamphlet contains the report of a bilateral conference between historians from Germany and from one other country on the history of the relations in a given period between Germany and the country concerned. Of the reports that I have received, three deal with Anglo-German, two with Franco-German, two with Austro-German and one each with Belgian-German, Luxemburg-German, Polish-German, Swedish-German and United States-German relations, mainly, although not exclusively, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The reports of the Anglo-German conferences, which are bilingual, consist of a number of brief statements summarizing such points of agreement as the two sides were able to reach concerning the most controversial events of the periods 1904-14

and 1918-33. The Franco-German reports (also bilingual) are much wider in scope—they cover the middle ages and the period from the French Revolution down to 1933—and are more overtly aimed at text-book failings both of omission and commission. Although the reports contain some passages that are unlikely to command universal assent, they all repay study.

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For his article on 'The Background of the Calas Affair' (*History*, xliii. 192-206) Mr. David D. Bien has been awarded the William Koren, Jr. Prize for the best article in French history published by an American or a Canadian in 1957 and 1958.

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The General Editor of the Victoria County Histories asks us to point out that the volume for Leicestershire reviewed in our last number (vol. xliv, pp. 105-6) does not complete the Leicestershire set of volumes, as stated by our reviewer.

REVIEWS AND SHORT NOTICES

ANCIENT

Dr. Glyn E. Daniel is the General Editor of an archaeological series entitled ANCIENT PEOPLES AND PLACES and published by Thames and Hudson. Nine volumes have appeared since 1956, and the last six are *Denmark before the Vikings* by Ole Klindt-Jensen (1957. 212 pp. 21s.), *The Low Countries* by S. J. De Laet (1958. 240 pp. 21s.), *The Celts* by T. G. E. Powell (1958. 283 pp. 25s.), *The Etruscans* by Raymond Bloch (1958. 260 pp. 25s.), *Early Christian Ireland* by Máire and Liam de Paor (1958. 264 pp. 25s.) and *Wessex before the Celts* by J. F. S. Stone (1958. 207 pp. 25s.). These titles—together with the three earlier titles (*Peru*, *The Scythians* and *Sicily before the Greeks*)—emphasize the wide territorial range of the series. No one is more fitted than Dr. Daniel to sponsor a series which covers so wide a field and is directed towards the general reader as well as towards the student. Much original work is summarized in these volumes, but it is not their purpose to make original contributions to knowledge so much as to provide ‘an up-to-date archaeological text-book and a clear, readable account for the interested layman’.

The appeal of the volumes will vary according to the reader’s interests. Those on Denmark and the Low Countries will appeal especially to the prehistorian, for an understanding of Danish, Belgian and Dutch material is essential to an understanding of British prehistory. The archaeological wealth of Denmark is clearly shown by Mr. Klindt-Jensen, and the focal nature of Holland and Belgium is a theme that runs through Professor De Laet’s volume. The volume on the Celts will have an even wider appeal in Britain: the subject is of perennial interest and Mr. Powell’s treatment of it—lucid, penetrating, scholarly and sympathetic—brings together archaeology, history, legends and linguistics in a masterly fashion. *Early Christian Ireland* might be regarded as something of a sequel to Mr. Powell’s book, for it covers the story of ‘an unsubdued Celtic community’ and it is written with sympathy and insight, but it makes too little use of non-archaeological evidence, which is much more abundant for this period than for Mr. Powell’s. The late Mr. J. F. S. Stone gives an account of the early prehistory of the area later known as Wessex, an area in which he lived as a scientist and worked as an excavator. And in his volume on the Etruscans a well-known French scholar carries his readers far from Britain to a vanished civilization of central Italy and to problems of origin and language still baffling to specialists. His exposition of *le mystère étrusque* is as lucid as it is fascinating.

These volumes are striking examples of a modern publisher’s art. Their fine clear type, excellent photographs, artistic line-drawings and vivid wrappers make them both attractive to look at and easy to read. Lack of space alone precludes a longer notice, for this series is undoubtedly making an impact on the reading public which scholars cannot afford to ignore.

University of St. Andrews

F. T. WAINWRIGHT

THE GREEK AND MACEDONIAN ART OF WAR. By Sir F. E. Adcock. University of California Press: Cambridge University Press. 1958. viii + 109 pp. 22s. 6d.

Sir F. Adcock's Sather Lectures are couched in an easy and light-hearted style, with many sallies which must have been well received in the lecture-room. The chief criticism to be made is one which applies also to the writings of Tarn (extensively cited here) and to some other studies of Greek warfare. When a scholar has an extensive knowledge of the modern literature as well as of the sources, there is a tendency for him to be influenced by his predecessors; a tendency which, in the context, one might compare to that of the ancient hoplite (noted on p. 8) to edge under his righthand neighbour's shield. A 'vulgate' tradition may thus be formed in which some passages of standard sources, which give a contrary impression, may be traditionally neglected.

Thus here we have the traditional doctrine that Alexander's phalanx had more 'flexibility' than its successors; but Arrian shows that, both at Issos and Gaugamela, it 'broke in half' when the advance of its left was held up, creating dangerous situations, which were saved by the decisive success of Alexander with his cavalry. On pp. 49 ff. we have the traditional doctrine that Greek cavalry, without stirrups, could not use shock tactics. Reference is made to the White Knight. Yet Xenophon, actually in a passage mentioned here, says of an advanced-guard collision, 'Then all the Greeks who hit their man broke their spears; but the Persians, who had spears of cornel-wood, killed at the first shock ten men and two horses'. The Greek spears were badly found out; but we are not told that anyone fell off. On p. 60 we are told that catapults were too slow to be effective in the field; but (admittedly, in *Roman* history), Tacitus tells us that at Betriacum II, in 69, the Rhine Army massed several catapults on the road that ran through the lines and 'laid low whole files at a time with enormous stones'.

The saying ascribed to Frederick the Great goes back (in the pages of Frontinus) to Metellus (Pius ?) in Spain, who said, when a young officer asked him his intentions, 'If my shirt knew, I'd burn it'. On Leuktra, Plutarch's *Pelopidas* (from Theopompos ?) is much more informative than Xenophon, who here as often in the *Hellenika* clearly writes for a public which knew the main facts already. Plutarch shows, e.g., that besides massing his best troops on his left, Epameinondas also made his 'oblique approach' out to the flank first; and that Spartan drill, although their cavalry was simultaneously driven back on to them, was still equal to re-forming the front half-right. On Chaironeia no ancient source says that when Philip's right gave ground before the Athenian charge, Philip planned a fighting withdrawal, or that Alexander charged 'the gap'. Rather, he was busy bearing down the horse and foot of Thebes. On p. 79, we might expect a mention of Alexander's tremendous exploitation of Gaugamela by invading the Persian homeland in winter (while Darius was in Media) and depriving the enemy of its manpower; and on p. 81, on the strategy of Pericles, a mention of the sending of a third of the Athenian field-army, in 430, to try to take Epidaurus; a major counterblow which nearly succeeded. But for the disaster of the plague, we might have heard of more such powerful counter-attacks.

But despite these omissions and the presence of some other details which might be criticized, this is a book which can be read with pleasure, though

in particular perhaps by scholars thoroughly conversant with Greek and Hellenistic history.

University of Glasgow

A. R. BURN

IN HISTORY UNEARTHED (London: Benn. 1958. 183 pp. 30s.) Sir Leonard Woolley describes with his customary skill the discoveries in eighteen different and widely separated archæological sites. The many illustrations, which are described in the introduction as 'the gist of the book', are indeed of great interest so far as one can see them; but it has unfortunately to be said that their reproduction is inadequate and far below the standards to which we are becoming accustomed in works on archæology.

THE DECIPHERMENT OF LINEAR B by John Chadwick (Cambridge University Press. 1958. 146 pp. 18s. 6d) is an exciting book to read and, quite apart from the interest which it will arouse in adults, it will be ideal for the sixth-form library. It is intelligent, 'widening' and human.

SERVICE IN THE POST-MARIAN ROMAN ARMY (Manchester University Press. 1958. 84 pp. 10s. 6d.) by R. E. Smith is a small book, but perhaps of greater importance and interest than its title might suggest: it contributes to a better understanding of the distribution and permanence of the various provincial armies which played so critical a rôle in the rise of the military dictators of the late Republic.

MEDIEVAL

THE PATRIARCH NICEPHORUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE: ECCLESIASTICAL POLICY AND IMAGE WORSHIP IN THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE. By P. J. Alexander. xiii + 287 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1958. 50s.

This is a contribution to the definitive history of iconoclasm which has yet to be written. It gives the first full account in English of the Patriarch Nicephorus whose childhood fell during the troubled period of the iconoclastic dispute in the eighth century and whose career was broken by his refusal to acquiesce in the renewed ban on the use of icons in the early ninth century. Nicephorus was mild and ready to compromise up to a point, but when it came to matters of doctrine his opponents' taunt that he was 'Caesar's tool in all things' was proved untrue. He resigned from the patriarchate in 815 and died in exile, probably in 828. Nicephorus' literary works, long neglected, show his part in building up the iconophile defence; they are also notable for their author's use of scholastic weapons in his polemic.

Unfortunately this book bears all the signs of having been finished (perhaps sent to press) some time before its publication in 1958, and it needs revision in the light of work which has appeared during the last few years, e.g. E. Kitzinger on the early use of icons (*Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8, 1954). And it might also with advantage have had a number of inconsistencies smoothed out; it is for instance disconcerting to find that Ostrogorsky's *History of the Byzantine State* is on occasion cited in the original edition of 1940. As it stands, the introduction (occupying about a quarter of the book) and the general

comments should be used with a certain amount of caution, though on the whole they provide a useful and stimulating introduction to a dispute which had far-flung consequences, and the student of western history will find various side-lights on the Latin world, such as Nicephorus' reference to the coronation of Charles the Great in his belated *synodicon* to Pope Leo III. But the real strength of the book lies in its account of the Patriarch Nicephorus himself. The chapters on his literary legacy are especially useful. Professor Alexander draws on both printed and unprinted sources. In particular, he makes extensive use of Nicephorus' unpublished *Criticism and Refutation* which he plans to edit, and he appends a summary of this document. Here Professor Alexander is breaking fresh ground, and his work, especially when the promised edition is available, should be a valuable contribution to the history of the second phase of the iconoclastic controversy.

Royal Holloway College, London

J. M. HUSSEY

EARLY ENGLISH LEGAL LITERATURE. By T. F. T. Plucknett. Cambridge University Press. 1958. viii + 120 pp. 18s. 6d.

It is tempting to sum up this delightful book by adapting a sentence from its first page: the author must be the only man since Maitland 'who could make seisin (for example) an entertaining subject'. It was a happy thought by Professor Plucknett to take the opportunity afforded by his Maitland Commemoration lectures in 1950, as the occasion for going over the whole field of English legal literature from the archaic *Quadripartitus* to the early Year Books, summarizing the results of recent research, clarifying the points at issue in difficult controversies, and (above all) 'placing' his authors in the development of a rational approach to legal scholarship. The whole book is thus in a sense a large scale 'historical revision' which was badly needed; but no brief summary can do justice to the urbanity of style, the entire freedom from 'jargon and professional cant', and the breadth of outlook which it shows. It is no ordinary law-book in which we meet Bentley's *Letters of Phalaris* and Pollard's *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates* rubbing shoulders with *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum* and 'Fleta'.

The centre-piece, as it were, consists of two lectures on Bracton; grouped appropriately round the great master are discourses on Glanville and his uncouth predecessors, on the dozen minor post-Bractonian works and on the Year Books; and a prologue is provided by a chapter on Maitland's view of law and history. Unity is given to the whole study by the recurring question of what the medieval law-writers were trying to do: to find an intelligible system of arrangement for their jumble of isolated facts. No 'concord of discordant canons' was possible for a secular English lawyer of the time of Henry I, since he still possessed no authorities to reconcile. 'Glanville' chose to use the writs as the skeleton of his book, and his choice was responsible for enthroning the writs in the minds of common lawyers, for as long as the forms of action lasted, as the source of the law. Bracton, in the very part of his book which has often been slightly regarded, made a brave and precocious attempt to separate principles from procedure. After him the attempt continued for a while under lesser men, but it ultimately failed and 'every vestige of a scientific approach to law disappeared; the lawyers accepted the return of chaos cheerfully and have long ago got used to it!' The situation is made abundantly clear by the trend of the Year Books, which begin as 'select

cases' but by the end of Edward I's reign become simply chronological reports whose exact purpose defies analysis.

In pursuing this general theme, Dr. Plucknett throws out a wealth of suggestions on other points. Only one or two can be mentioned here. In the course of a long discussion of the corruptions in the text of Bracton he finds 'insuperable difficulties' in the suggestion that 'the redactor' (whose existence he feels bound to admit) worked *after* Bracton's death and *then* produced the archetype of all our manuscripts. He argues persuasively that the redactor was the author's clerk or secretary, working in his lifetime from his rough notes, and producing from them 'as near an autograph as ever existed', with all the imperfections which have caused scholars to despair of producing an authentic text. Dr. Plucknett's exposition here is a fine piece of textual criticism; he notes *inter alia* that the whole of Bracton's twenty folios on dower appear to be an *addicio*, and finds an all-time record for haplography in MS. Bodley 170, where no less than thirty folios of Bracton are omitted by a scribe who had presumably resumed his task at the wrong place after an interval.

The remarks of Dr. Plucknett on the penetration of French into legal literature, as laymen became more important in the legal profession, are very suggestive. His argument may explain such curiosities as the translation of certain papal bulls into French in the time of Edward I; doubtless this was done for the benefit of the king's lay advisers (especially the common lawyers) who were 'at home in French but not fluent in Latin'. It is rather sad to witness the destruction of the classic story that Maitland first heard of the Public Record Office from Vinogradoff, and on the following day hastened thither to demand the earliest plea roll of the county of Gloucester. But Dr. Plucknett proves that it is apocryphal; Maitland may well have believed it to be true in later years, but he seems always to have been 'constitutionally impelled' to give too much credit to other people.

One may hope that this book will find a wide audience, and not least among those who have already learned from Maitland how interesting a subject legal history at its best may be.

University of Glasgow

E. L. G. STONES

IN THE HANDWRITING OF ENGLISH DOCUMENTS (London: Edward Arnold. 1958. 126 pp. 30s.) Mr. L. C. Hector endeavours 'to moderate as far as possible the difficulties of reading presented by the hands written in England for administrative, legal or business purposes during the past eight or nine centuries'. In 53 pages of text and 32 excellently reproduced plates he surveys the languages, abbreviations and history of English business hands, and gives some succinct information on parchment, paper, quills, pens and inks. Of necessity there are many important omissions, and much that he has to say is easily available elsewhere. One could wish too that he had been less conventional in his selection of documents, and had, like Mr. Denholm-Young, set his subject more firmly in its historical context. There is also some doubt as to the audience the author has in mind. Those who can appreciate his occasionally recondite references to the Public Records are hardly likely to be equally grateful for his linguistic comments. The volume cannot supplant the practical teaching value of the works of Sir Hilary Jenkinson, but nevertheless Mr. Hector has written a useful introductory essay, marked by

sound common sense and pleasantly free from the arid pedantry into which the subject too often degenerates.

University of Durham

G. V. SCAMMELL

THE GOLDEN TRADE OF THE MOORS. By E. W. Bovill. Oxford University Press. 1958. 281 pp. 30s.

THE TRAVELS OF IBN BATTUTA, vol. i. Edited by Sir Hamilton Gibb. Cambridge University Press (for the Hakluyt Society). 1958. 268 pp. 30s.

Both these books have been expected for many years. Mr. Bovill's *Caravans of the Old Sahara* was a pioneer study of those Trans-Saharan trade routes which linked West Africa with the Mediterranean. It has been out of print for nearly twenty years. It had become almost unprocurable and there were repeated rumours of a fresh edition. *The Golden Trade of the Moors* is in fact a fresh version. It has been rewritten with a new emphasis on North Africa. The first 50 pages deal with the pre-Islamic period and the last 40 with West Africa after the coming of Mungo Park. But the main theme is the interaction between successive dynasties in Morocco and the negroid kingdoms to the south. *The Golden Trade of the Moors* retains all the great qualities of *Caravan Routes of the Old Sahara*. It is the work of an enthusiast, in its own fashion it is a work of exploration. Mr. Bovill has been the Mungo Park of West African history. But it might be queried how far he has kept in touch with the studies he did so much to stimulate. Much greater use could have been made of recent archæological discoveries like the medieval inscriptions found at Sane and the results of the excavations at Koumbi Saleh and at Gao. A number of myths have been retained like that of the massed Jewish migrations and that of the Timbuctoo physician in fifteenth-century Toulouse. Throughout the documentation is not adequate.

Mr. Bovill's ninth chapter is entitled 'Ibn Battuta'. It is based on the selections from *Ibn Battuta* published by Mr. H. A. R. Gibb in 1929. It has long been known that Professor Gibb was preparing a translation of the complete text for the Hakluyt Society. Ibn Battuta was born in Tangier in 1304 and dictated a narrative of his travels when he was at the court of Fez in 1354. He had penetrated the Sahara and visited the negro kingdoms of which Mr. Bovill writes; he has provided our primary documentary source for their medieval culture. But he had also made the Mecca pilgrimage, had journeyed down the East African coast, had served as judge at Delhi and in the Maldive islands and been on an embassy to China. The record of his seventy thousand miles of travel will fill four volumes of the Hakluyt series. This first volume deals with North-West Africa and Egypt and Syria and Arabia. Geographically it will be the least interesting of the four. But it is particularly rich in anecdote and in architectural detail and Ibn Battuta is nowhere more self revealing. In his fashion he was the Islamic Froissart. The text is fully annotated and accompanied by admirable architectural plans and maps. It is worthy of the highest traditions of the Hakluyt Society and of so great a scholar as Sir Hamilton Gibb.

Blackfriars, Oxford

GERVASE MATHEW

THE OCCUPATION OF CHIOS BY THE GENOESE AND THEIR ADMINISTRATION OF THE ISLAND 1346-1566. By Philip P. Argenti. Cambridge University Press. 1958. 3 vols. xxiv + 714 and xviii + 982 pp. £15 15s the set.

The Greek island of Chios has been nobly served by Dr. Argenti, himself of

Chian descent, who now completes a history of the island since classical times: he has already published many volumes on the later period. The Genoese were among the many beneficiaries of Byzantium's collapse after 1204, though they only gained a hold in Chios by the Treaty of Nymphaeum (1261), and began to rule it almost a century later thanks to a naval expedition originally organized to oppose a rebellion at Monaco. A *Mahona*, or chartered company, of Genoese acquired the right to exploit the island and to a large extent governed it also. From the later fifteenth century Chios was Genoa's only remaining possession in the Levant, and it fell under the shadow of domination by the Turks, to whom an annual tribute was paid. Only the regular payment of this levy can explain the anachronism of Chios' immunity from Turkish attack until the island fell in 1566. In Matthew Arnold's poem the 'young light-hearted masters of the waves' shipped Chian wine, but the island's most valuable product in the medieval period was a resinous gum, mastic, of which it enjoyed a world monopoly. Mastic was in demand for use in ointments and varnishes, in a scented drink, and as a chewing-gum which perfumed the breath and kept the teeth white. When over-production threatened to lower its price, the Genoese sagaciously arranged to burn the surplus. The island also had some importance as a commercial *entrepôt*, though Dr. Argenti's findings tend to confirm Professor Lopez' gloomy picture of declining trade in the eastern Mediterranean during the fifteenth century.

Dr. Argenti devotes well over half of his first volume to the political history of Chios under the Genoese, and about a hundred pages to a sketch of the administration. The most interesting parts of these chapters describe the republic's relations with the *Mahona*, which it several times attempted to buy up, and recount many ill-fated efforts at reform in the government of Chios. Shorter sections are devoted to economic history, topography, social history and ecclesiastical history. In the second volume are printed *in extenso* the main sources relating to the Genoese administration of Chios (including the whole of the *Codex Berianus Chiensis*), while the third volume (which is well indexed) contains notarial deeds, the principal source for the island's economic history. The pace of the book is leisured, as befits a work of antiquarian piety. Inevitably the story moves between Chios and Genoa, though one could wish that it had been presented more in its setting as part of the history of the eastern Mediterranean. Dr. Argenti believes that on the whole relations between Greeks and Genoese were friendly, but there was a serious rising in 1348, as a result of which the Greek metropolitan was sent into exile. His name was Makarios.

London School of Economics

D. P. WALEY

THE BLACK PRINCE'S EXPEDITION OF 1355-1357. By H. J. Hewitt. 1958. Manchester University Press. 226 pp. 30s.

Mr. Hewitt's approach to this famous expedition, which had as its dramatic climax the victory at Poitiers, differs considerably from what has been usual in the past. The military activities have often been described by English or French historians, and the bibliography of the battle of Poitiers is already formidable. Mr. Hewitt, however, has attempted to present the expedition, as he says, 'in the round', and in so doing has considered aspects of medieval army organization which are often neglected. His story begins in the spring of 1355, when it was decided to appoint Edward, Prince of Wales, royal

lieutenant in Gascony, and to entrust him with his first command. It ends in May 1357 with the triumphant return of the prince to London, bringing with him the captive King John of France. In addition to describing the campaigns, Mr. Hewitt has drawn extensively on record sources for information about such matters as the collection and composition of the army, victualling at the port of embarkation, and the arrest of a fleet of merchant ships which transported the soldiers and their horses from Plymouth to Bordeaux. Unluckily he is not as fortunate in the documentation of this army as he would have been with several others of the period. Much can be learned about the prince's retinue from the *Black Prince's Register*, but little is known about the retinues of the subordinate captains, or about the Gascon forces which joined Edward in apparently large numbers. The evidence never allows more than a guess as to the size of the army. Most of the men had volunteered for service, and had done so primarily because they hoped to profit from plunder and the ransoms of prisoners. Their hopes, as is clearly shown here, were amply fulfilled, for in the event the two *chevauchées* proved extremely rewarding, and were amongst the most profitable of the war. During the first raid (October–December 1355), the army pillaged southern France almost at will; the second ended with a magnificent haul of prisoners at Poitiers (19 September 1356). On the details of the battle, Mr. Hewitt is brief, though he has some general comments to make which are interesting, as is also his assessment of the military value of the *chevauchée*, about which he is not so sceptical as many have been.

In his narrative of the campaigns, Mr. Hewitt succeeds admirably in capturing the atmosphere and spirit of fourteenth-century warfare. He has an eye for detail of human interest: the hardship, for instance, to men and horses when food and water were in short supply; the terror of unarmed civilians in the face of wanton destructiveness. A distinction of the book is the skill with which the complex evidence of chronicles and records has been woven into a coherent and very readable account. In places, however, the exposition suffers from too much condensation. Mr. Hewitt disclaims any intention of making a formal study of the financing of the expedition, but he does provide some facts on this subject, and here his presentation is somewhat disjointed. A more systematic use of the Day-Book of John Henxteworth might have been informative. There are a number of errors in the spelling of French place-names, as well as some inconsistency of method in the spelling of the names, about a thousand in all, of those whose presence in the army has been traced (Appendix C); the rank of 'knight' has been omitted in several cases. It is regrettable that the notes have had to be placed at the end of the book. These, however, are only blemishes in what is a real contribution to our knowledge of an important subject.

University of Bristol

J. W. SHERBORNE

THE ESTATES OF THE PERCY FAMILY 1416–1537. By J. M. W. Bean.
Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1958. 176 pp. 25s.

Dr. Bean's study of the estates of the Earls of Northumberland in the later middle ages deals with some very important themes in the social and political history of the aristocracy during a critical period. The necessary background to the story of the family's fluctuating fortunes is the history of its agrarian revenues. This is the first of Dr. Bean's themes. He then deals with the

important topic of the cost of 'bastard feudalism', that is the burden on landed revenue of those fees and annuities paid out by the Percies to secure a following. Another theme is that of the loss and acquisition of property as a result of attainders, marriages and inheritances. The story is ended by a description of the acquisition of the estate by the crown in 1537 from the weak, gullible and spendthrift sixth Earl.

Some of these themes are better treated than others. Fifteenth-century estate documents in general cannot be compared with those of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as sources for agrarian history, and the Percy MSS. are particularly defective in that there are very few manorial court rolls. All that can be done is to give an outline of the decline in manorial revenues—a fall of about a quarter between 1416 and 1461, only compensated later by the acquisition of extra properties. Dr. Bean's treatment of this decline should have been much less detailed. On the other hand it would be difficult to deal with losses and gains in property, a matter of conveyances and genealogies, without going into detail, though unfortunately the author does not make it easy reading. There is a good deal more life in his discussion of the part played by entry fines in contributing both to the estate revenues and to the agrarian discontent at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace. The discussion whether financial embarrassment was the cause or the effect of noble gangsterdom through livery and maintenance is also of interest and importance. Dr. Bean's occasional polemics against the Dodds, Professor Postan, Principal Steel and others undoubtedly help to liven up an otherwise somewhat over-detailed work.

University of Birmingham

R. H. HILTON

THE INCISED SLABS OF LEICESTERSHIRE AND RUTLAND, PREFACED BY A BRIEF MANUAL OF INCISED SLABS by F. A. Greenhill (Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society. 1958. xii + 256 pp. and 42 plates. 52s. 6d.) is not only a comprehensive survey of which any local society might well be proud, but also a pioneer work. Incised slabs have hitherto received little or no attention, but Mr. Greenhill clearly intends that his volume should be the forerunner of a national survey. We congratulate him on his achievement and extend our best wishes to his larger enterprise.

A happy choice for inclusion in THE MAKERS OF CHRISTENDOM WAS ST. ODO OF CLUNY, being the Life of St. Odo of Cluny by John of Salerno and the Life of St. Gerald of Aurillac by St. Odo, translated and edited by Dom Gerard Sitwell, O.S.B. (London: Sheed and Ward. 1958. xxix + 186 pp. 16s.). The Cluniac abbots usually receive less than their fair share of attention in England, but this work should do much to redress the balance. The translation is sympathetic, accurate and clear, and the reader will be delighted not only by the main subject-matter but also by incidentals such as the account of Vikings on p. 54.

THE 'DIGNITAS DECANI' OF ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL DUBLIN, edited by N. B. White with an introduction by Father Aubrey Gwynn, S.J. (Dublin Stationery Office. 1957. xxvii + 205 pp. £2), is a valuable new volume published by the Irish Manuscripts Commission. It contains a collection of charters and other documents relating to the history of St. Patrick's cathedral,

made for the most part in the early sixteenth century. There are 143 documents for the years c. 1190-1640. Ten transcripts of deeds now lost are printed in an appendix from B. Lansdowne MS. 448. There is a good index.

SOME OXFORDSHIRE WILLS PROVED IN THE PREROGATIVE COURT OF CANTERBURY, 1393-1510, edited by J. R. H. Weaver and A. Beardwood (Oxfordshire Record Society. 1958. xxxix + 115 pp. 25s.), is an admirable volume which will be valued by both historians and local antiquaries. The Latin texts have been translated, while the English texts have been left in their original spelling. There are indexes of testators, place-names and subjects, and the volume as a whole is a model of its kind.

EARLY MODERN

MACHIAVELLISM. By Friedrich Meineke. Translated by Douglas Scott, with an Introduction by W. Stark. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957. xlv + 438 pp. 50s. THE REASON OF STATE AND THE GREATNESS OF CITIES. By Giovanni Botero. Translated by P. J. Waley, with an Introduction by D. P. Waley. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1956. xv + 298 pp. 32s. MACHIAVELLI AND THE RENAISSANCE. By Federigo Chabod. Translated by David Moore, with an Introduction by A. P. D'Entrèves. London: Bowes and Bowes. 1958. xviii + 258 pp. 30s.

Meineke's *Machiavellism*, first published in 1924 has, despite that comparatively recent date, much the air of a period piece, for it is a thorough-going attempt to interpret modern West-European History in the terms of the Hegelian dialectic. His theme is the emergence of the state, both in theory and in practice, as an organism existing in its own right, and governed by laws of its own making relative to its determined ends, from the older antithetical concept of a prior system of universal natural law and absolute standards of value. The resulting argument is often more ingenious than illuminating in the interpretation put upon particular series of events. Nevertheless his hegelianism is responsible for the best things in the book. It leads him in the first place to make penetrating analyses of the elements, more especially the discordant elements, out of which Machiavelli, Bodin, Hobbes and Spinoza built their systems, for in them he sees the new order of ideas in process of freeing itself from the old. In the second place, as a hegelian he sees ideas as emerging in action. He is therefore as concerned with the implications of policy as with the formulation of theories—with Richelieu and with Frederick the Great as much as with Bodin and Hobbes. His study of the interaction of the theory and practice of politics since 1500 is comprehensive in its scope. An immense body of material is carefully examined, and integrated in an argument which is both coherent and suggestive.

As he approaches the nineteenth century however the historian is more and more submerged in the patriot. In his view, it is in Germany that the concept of the super-personality of the state becomes completely articulate with Hegel, and is fully realized in the Prussian state, and the achievement commands his admiration. The interest of Book Three lies not so much in its subject matter, but in its author as revealing the form and quality of early twentieth-century German political idealism. Dr. Stark's illuminating Intro-

duction is largely devoted to this aspect of Meineke's work. It is a study of the development of Meineke's own political convictions, and brings out how deeply engaged he was, emotionally as well as intellectually, in the history of his own times. Both as a history of modern political thinking, and as a document dealing with a particular political creed, this is an important work, and should be available to English readers. Unfortunately it is very heavy going. Meineke's style was elaborate and involved, and the translation makes the most of this by its excessive literalness.

Giovanni Botero's *Reason of State* is hardly of the dimensions of a masterpiece, and occupies only a modest place in Meineke's book. But it has the special interest of lesser works in that it illustrates the impact of Machiavelli's statecraft on the generation that grew up under the influence of the Counter-Reformation. The representative character of the book may be judged by the fact that in Botero's own life-time ten Italian editions appeared, and it was translated into Latin, French and Spanish. In the Dedication the author denounces Machiavelli and announces his intention of restoring the rule of divine law and the moral order in politics. The form and method is that of the *Prince*. That is to say it is didactic, and the Prince is instructed how to rule in illustrated answers to leading questions. The interesting thing that emerges from the rather commonplace and undistinguished discussion is the extent to which he accepts Machiavelli's doctrine that *ragione de stato* is the sole criterion of right action in politics. The moral order is restored, not so much on the grounds of its absolute validity, but because it is the policy best suited to preserve and advance the state's interests. A modernized version of Robert Paterson's translation of *The Greatness of Cities*, made in 1606, is appended. This is a lively and not very critical discussion which well illustrates the very general interest, in the sixteenth century, in geography and history. There is a useful brief Introduction on Botero's life. The translation of the *Reason of State* is pleasantly readable.

Machiavelli and the Renaissance is a collection of articles published by Professor Chabod between 1924 and 1955. It is a book of reassessment and interpretation. Professor D'Entrèves in his Introduction emphasizes this aspect by outlining the course that Machiavellian studies have taken in Italy in the last hundred years. Whereas the tendency has been to go to Machiavelli's writings to find a system in them, Professor Chabod sets out to interpret them by finding the man who was their author. He therefore explicitly rejects Meineke's view of Machiavelli as the rationalist, laying the foundation of a philosophy which finds its final expression in Hegel, and sees him as an imaginative rather than intellectual force, the tragic poet of political thinkers. His greatness—and he claims for him that he is 'peerless in the realm of political thought'—lies in his flashes of intuitive insight into human nature in politics, and the power and persuasiveness of his style. Whether one agrees with this view of Machiavelli or not, Professor Chabod bases it on a close and illuminating examination of his hero's emotional and intellectual reactions to his political experience, as they are reflected in his writings, from the first *Legations* to the close of the *Florentine Histories*. In doing so he emphasizes the immediacy, and therefore the discontinuity and contradictions in Machiavelli's thought. The particulars of this study are of great interest, and it is in general a salutary corrective to over-systematization. The essay on the Renaissance is more conventional in its treatment of the break with medieval

traditions, but makes an interesting contrast with what he regards as specifically modern habits of mind. The book is furnished with an invaluable critical bibliography which occupies one fifth of the whole work.

Bedford College, London

MARIAN J. TOOLEY

When invited to deliver five lectures at Princeton Theological Seminary, Dr. E. H. Harbison looked for a subject which would have a common appeal to a layman like himself and to the theological specialists he would be addressing. He found it in scholarship as a Christian vocation, partly because that subject has been relatively neglected by both historians and theologians, and partly because it enabled him to concentrate on the period which is his own special field of study, that is, the age of the Reformation. *THE CHRISTIAN SCHOLAR IN THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1956. 177 pp. \$3) gives the results of his reflections. The first two lectures cover a lot of ground, taking as representative Christian scholars Jerome and Augustine, Abelard and Aquinas, and—from the revival of learning—Petrarch, Valla, Pico della Mirandola, and John Colet. More specialized are the remaining lectures dealing with Erasmus, Luther, and Calvin.

Dr. Harbison handles his theme in a purely objective manner. He imposes no doctrinaire rules as to what Christian scholarship is, or what are the chief problems it should discuss, or how Christian scholars come by a sense of their vocation. He himself is convinced that pure scholarship is a legitimate calling for a Christian, and that it is of special importance to Protestants, since they are the heirs of a movement originated by scholars and intellectuals. It is regrettable that he was not able to say something about Catholic scholarship in the period. Certainly in the sixteenth century, to a greater degree, perhaps, than in any other period in Christian history, the enthusiasm for learning and confidence in what scholarship could accomplish for religious purposes was the driving force in the intellectual life of the time.

Naturally, in so small a book Dr. Harbison has not been able to break fresh ground, but his studies bear the marks of wide reading, both in the original sources and in the secondary literature of the period. He has a pleasantly light touch, and a sharp eye for an illuminating quotation, for which he usually gives his references. His book can be commended as a pleasant introduction to Reformation history likely to stimulate the interest of any intelligent young student.

King's College, London

G. H. WILLIAMS

THE MIDLAND PEASANT, THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF A LEICESTERSHIRE VILLAGE. By W. G. Hoskins, London: Macmillan. 1957. xxii + 322 pp. 30s.

ENGLISH PEASANT FARMING, THE AGRARIAN HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE FROM TUDOR TO RECENT TIMES. By Joan Thirsk. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1957. xv + 350 pp. 40s.

The use of the word peasant in the context of English agrarian history does not make for clear thinking; but if we define the peasant as a small cultivator with enough land to raise him above the landless labourer but not enough to permit him to employ regular paid labour outside his own family, we shall find that both these books have a great many things of interest to say about

him. Dr. Hoskins's book is a detailed study of a single village, Wigston Magna in Leicestershire, from its foundations before the Norman Conquest to its absorption in the urban area of Leicester in the twentieth century. Being a lover of peasant life, he sees his village through the light that never was on sea or land; but he investigates it with the rigour of the craftsman working with precision tools. The result is to show that the essentially peasant village was subject to a process of internal erosion deriving, not from the institutional action of an all powerful manorial lord, for it lost its manorial lords in the sixteenth century and never acquired another, but from its own vital forces of growth and change. Indeed, Dr. Hoskins tells us that the loss of its manorial lords actually assisted the progress of erosion through the increased opportunities it offered to the richer peasants to enlarge their properties still further and so widen the gap that was forming between them from the Middle Ages onwards. Dr. Hoskins, of course, regrets the change; and many readers may be tempted to share his nostalgic mood. But it should always be remembered that historians obtain their effects by what they leave out as well as by what they put in, and Dr. Hoskins is no exception. Fortunately his historian's technique enables us to reconstruct the reality for ourselves.

He shows that the decomposition of the egalitarian peasant community proceeded from two sources, first the growth of population which at a very early date produced a marginal class of peasants on the fringes of subsistence, and second the differential rate of growth as between one family and another as a result of different ability and opportunity. There was pressure of population upon the land resources as early as the eleventh century, and in some places the cultivated area had already reached the boundary of the parish. There was migration of younger sons to the towns and a tallage roll of 1271 reveals that no less than one-third of the population of Leicester had originated in villages all over the county. The urban drift was thus under way on a really large scale as a result of natural increase of the population, and the urban proletariat was already forming in the thirteenth century without the interposition of commercialized agriculture or enclosure.

The process was checked by the demographic set-back of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Between 1377 and 1440 the population of the village may have gone down, he thinks, by half; at the same time prices fell catastrophically; the margin of cultivation retreated; aerial photographs of a number of Leicestershire villages reveal a very considerable shrinkage in the tillage area. Disease and depression were emptying the villages without the aid of landlords or capitalists. Not only was the population smaller, it was more unstable than ever before. 'During the fifteenth century', Dr. Hoskins tells us, 'there was almost a complete change in the village population such as perhaps no other century could show until the nineteenth', an interesting confirmation of the view that low prices and depression undermined the stability of the subsistence peasant as well as of the capitalist farmer.

The long depression had another effect, it stimulated a social stratification in favour of those farmers who could 'hang on in adversity' either because they had greater resources or because they were endowed with greater inborn staying power. As a result, a peasant aristocracy, or at least a class of peasant capitalists, raised themselves from the ruck and became distinguished from their fellows by the ownership of larger farms.

From about 1450 population entered on one of its mysterious upward climbs. New family names begin to appear in the lists; and between 1563 and 1605 the village grew from eighty households to 130 or 140, a truly astonishing expansion; but it was still no bigger than it had been on the eve of the Black Death. Moreover, living standards were rising, at least for those who made wills and had property to leave; but those who had no property to leave were no better off, and by the second half of the sixteenth century there was a recognized class of poor as a permanent feature of the village life. The social pyramid was topped by a group of families which had been partly recruited from outside but for the most part from the native peasantry.

As a peasant community its days were now numbered and enclosures pushed forward by the larger farmers in 1760 took away its one remaining prop, the common rights over the stubble, and it slowly sank into a commercialized satellite of Leicester in which it was finally absorbed. Here is the story of the transition of the peasant into proletarian, brought about not by the enclosing landlord but by the peasants' capacity to increase and multiply. 'If only there had not been so many people in the village', says Dr. Hoskins sadly, 'it would have been stronger, perhaps indestructible.' The enemy in this case is not the landlord but the falling death rate and the rising birth rate. Wigston Magna, of course, is an exceptional village because it had no landlord. That is what makes it so interesting; it shows that the peasant village was inherently unstable, landlord or no landlord, when based on primogeniture and subject to commercial influences.

Mrs. Thirsk's book is a more ambitious study. It is an attempt at a regional agrarian history and therefore offers a wider target for criticism while providing a bigger canvas on which to project the history of the small farmer. Her use of statistical data is open to some objections and her apparent identification (possibly accidental) of cole seed with grain crops will strike farmers as odd; but on the subject of the peasantry as defined above she has much of interest to say.

She shows that the Marsh Lands and the Fen Land were heavily populated during the whole 300 years of her survey. Their wealth lay in geese, cattle, and also in the arable products of the reclaimed lands. Usually there were two arable fields, one on either side of the main north and south road, but the economy was primarily pastoral, based on the rich pastures reclaimed from the sea. Enclosure was part of the process of reclamation carried out by the local gentry and the land was sublet to tenants. There was no question, she says, of tenant oppression or expropriation in these areas. By mid-eighteenth century about half the villages had been enclosed. The object had been mainly sheep pastures; but many other factors played their parts: the desire to modernize the home farm; to redistribute tenants' lands in more convenient units; the pulling down of a farm house here in order to erect another elsewhere; and perhaps especially to renew the fertility of the soil. In the Clay Lands, the object of enclosure was to increase fertility by alternating land use; John Bluett converted 200-300 acres in Harlaxton 'to mend the common and get heart', and there is no evidence of opposition from the peasantry. What was this but ley farming, asks Dr. Thirsk, a practice that was known far and wide in the Midlands, not because sheep were more

profitable and cattle fetched a higher price in the London markets but because the land needed some change of use to keep it in production. This motive for enclosure has not received the attention it deserves and Mrs. Thirsk has done well to emphasize it.

A far greater blow than anything dealt by the enclosing landlords was the drainage of the Fens in the seventeenth century which deprived the overpopulated villages on the margins of the use of the common on which they relied for summer pasture. Population moved into Horncastle and into other agricultural areas where there was surplus land, a more rational redistribution of a population in Dr. Thirsk's view.

From 1760 onwards the historian of the peasantry is treading on firmer ground, and this is partly due to the preliminary work of Lord Ernle. 'No one', says Dr. Thirsk, 'is likely to dispute the truth of the generalizations made by Lord Ernle in his comprehensive survey of English farming concerning the period after 1760.' On the contrary it was not long ago that Lord Ernle's book was described by a distinguished broadcaster as 'an amalgam of truths, half-truths and untruths' (*The Listener*, 21 February 1957). Undoubtedly, Lord Ernle underrated the advances in English agriculture in many parts of England before the period of parliamentary enclosures, and overrated those that took place afterwards; but about Lincolnshire he appears to have been right. Here the improvement took place after, not before enclosure. As for population, says Dr. Thirsk, the increase was as fast in the agricultural county of Lincolnshire as in the industrialized counties of Leicestershire and Derbyshire.

In the Marsh Lands there were no resident gentry to take the initiative and enclosure was late, the busiest period being between 1815 and 1845, but by that time the poor desired enclosure as much as the rich. 'At Clee and Grimsby, the commissioners attributed the unanimous desire for enclosure to the great benefits which it brought to small farmers' and the author quotes the judgement of D. O. Massingberd, a native with half a century's experience of rural change in the county, 'that enclosure did nothing to reduce the size of the small-holder class', but cautiously adds that it probably made the large farmer larger and the small smaller. It certainly led to improved land use, and large areas were brought into cultivation especially round Louth, Harlaxton and Burgh le Marsh, but mistakes were made and on the Wolds farmers and landlords combined to exhaust the soil so that it would have been better if it had never been enclosed at all. Throughout all these changes the peasantry seem to have remained unaffected; in 1870 forty-one per cent of the holdings in the Isle of Axholme were under five acres and in the other divisions it never dropped below twenty-three per cent except in Kesteven where it fell to eighteen per cent. Three quarters of the farms were under 100 acres and some of them—especially those of the Fens and Marsh parishes—weathered the blizzards of the great depression so well that they became an object of curiosity and indeed of emulation to agricultural reformers.

We see from this and from Dr. Hoskins's study that the problem of the survival of the peasantry was a farming problem rather than an institutional problem; a problem of land-use within a context of changing prices and strange fluctuations of population, rather than a chapter in the class war; and though the authors of these two books have not given us the final answers

to the fate of the peasantry, they have shown us how the answers are to be found.

University of Nottingham

J. D. CHAMBERS

THE STRUCTURE OF THE OTTOMAN DYNASTY. By A. D. Alderson. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1956. xvi + 186 pp. 8os.

The author of this book has clearly expended much time and labour in its composition, particularly in that of its sixty-three tables of genealogies, etc. But I wondered while reading it and still more after having finished it whether it was all worth while. It appears to me that the useful information the work contains could have been made more readily available to readers by being given a very much less elaborate setting.

Some of the author's statistical information, which I have not come across elsewhere, is interesting and might well slightly modify our usual generalizations about the Ottoman sultans. That the average Ottoman reign was seventeen years does not, it is true, greatly enlighten us, since there were at least three main eras in Ottoman history, in each of which the sultans reigned in vastly different conditions. But it is pleasing to learn that the famous law of fratricide resulted in no more than eighty deaths all told; and the author produces cogent evidence in support of one of his main contentions, that this same law of fratricide prevented the early dismemberment of the empire. Another striking and to me novel point he makes is that one of the reasons why the sultans of the 'middle' period seldom led their armies in war was the presence in the *kafes* of princes who might be substituted for them in their absence—the possibility exploited by Racine in *Bajazet*. He also effectively disproves the theory that the Hünkâr Çelebi had any prescriptive right to gird a newly acceded sultan.

It seems to me a pity that Mr. Alderson did not resist the temptation to rely on information derived from articles published in the three popular Turkish magazines he refers to in introducing his bibliography, or on a work he cites by a contributor to one of them that would appear to be rather sensational. The knowledge that some of his statistics may be based on statements derived from such sources does not increase one's confidence in them. He is also inclined to hunt for rules and principles where they hardly, it seems to me, existed—as for instance in relation to the succession in Muslim dynasties other than the Ottoman, and to Ottoman 'regencies'. As regards the first it appears to me that there were always in Islamic dynasties two usually conflicting tendencies. On the one hand there was a natural desire on the part of the community to place in command the man most likely to make an effective ruler, and on the other an even stronger desire on the part of a powerful monarch to ensure the succession of his son, actual succession depending, within certain limits, on might rather than right. Mr. Alderson states, again, that 'the sentiment that the people were at liberty to choose whom they would [as sultan] and also to depose him freely . . . provided a safeguard against the appearance of a weak sultan . . . unfitted to rule'. But if any such sentiment existed—which seems to me very doubtful—it certainly produced no such effect, since weak sultans abounded in later times. Such statements as these seem to make the narrative part of the book less valuable

than the tables.¹ These would surely supply an answer (where there is one) to any query regarding members of the House of Osman and their relatives that could possibly be raised; and the author is to be commended for his industry and exactitude in compiling them.

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HAROLD BOWEN

THE MARCHANTS AVIZO (edited by P. McGrath. Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration publication: London, St. Catherine Press. 1957. xxxvii + 64 pp. 8s. 6d.) was one of the earliest books to be published in England for the instruction of merchants and factors engaged in overseas trade. Hitherto its authorship has been uncertain, but in the very informative introduction to this edition Mr. McGrath shows it was written by John Brown, a Bristol merchant of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, who was engaged principally in the trade to Spain and Portugal. From his own experience in this sphere he compiled *The Marchants Avizo*, a manual of instruction for merchants' factors and apprentices proceeding overseas. It provided the young factor with models of business letters he might require to write home to his master, notes of weights and measures commonly in use in the Peninsular trade, specimens of mercantile accounts and bills of lading, acquittances, bills of exchange, assurance policies and grants of powers of attorney, together with much sound and sober advice on the conduct expected from a young factor overseas. Although the author drew his examples mainly from the Spanish trade, which he knew well, the book was almost equally useful to young factors proceeding to other regions. First published in 1589, it ran through six editions by 1640. This present edition has been admirably edited with a wealth of explanatory notes and supplementary information by Mr. McGrath, and will be read with much profit by all interested in commercial and business affairs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Birkbeck College, London

ALWYN A. RUDDOCK

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS: THE MARINER AND THE MAN. By Jean Merrien. London: Odhams. 1958. 256 pp. 25s.

THE ENTERPRISE OF ENGLAND: AN ACCOUNT OF HER EMERGENCE AS AN OCEANIC POWER. By Thomas Woodrooffe. London: Faber. 1958. 300 pp. 25s.

The amateur hand in the writing of history is not to be despised. What it lacks in expertise it often makes up, in some degree, in freshness of touch and by the introduction of new ways of looking at old topics. M. Merrien knows a great deal about the Atlantic and has chronicled its later argonauts: this, no doubt, is what led him back to Columbus, the first whom we can trace in detail across its surface. M. Merrien's wisdom in choosing this subject may well be questioned. Where he is writing of Columbus at sea all is well but most of the book is taken up with Columbus ashore. Here the author is out of his element and the book meanders along with vague discussions of the origins of the navigator, of how obsessed he was and of his supposed removal of the rival pilots by murder. The standard of scholarship is not

¹ There are also a few mistakes, e.g. Mehmed IV for Murad IV as the author of a military dispatch in verse (p. 124), 1828 for 1826 as the date at which the Janissaries were abolished (p. 43).

high and there are no references to authorities. M. Merrien detests Columbus as a man (or is this a pose?) and praises him as a navigator (or is this just common form?). It is a pity that Morison's life stands so lonely as there must be other interesting books that could be written about Columbus. This is not one of them.

Commander Woodrooffe too knows his way around a ship under sail and his book is a simple, direct and sound account of what Englishmen did at sea between 1558 and 1588. It is an effective narrative, written with economy and with a feeling for the men who fought at sea which one would hope to find from a professional sailor. At the same time it is not, in scholarship, a satisfying work. The title *The Enterprise of England* is misleading as it was the slogan of the Counter Reformation against Elizabeth I and properly describes the attempts made to recover England for the Catholic faith. But this is only incidentally the object of the author, who is concerned with maritime expansion in general from the English angle and who stops short with the Armada just when the long maritime struggle which ended in 1604 has got well under way. Further, the haphazard list of authorities on pp. 289-91 (not without mistakes) shows that very little that has appeared in the last ten years has come under Commander Woodrooffe's notice and this is confirmed by his narrative, for example, of Drake's expedition of 1585-6. He is, therefore, somewhat old-fashioned in his approach and in his objectives. With these qualifications the book can be read as a useful introduction to the subject, but it seems a pity that the author stuck to such conventional attitudes.

University of Liverpool

DAVID B. QUINN

SOCINIANISM IN POLAND. THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IDEAS OF THE POLISH ANTITRINITARIANS IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES. By Stanislas Kot. Translated from the Polish by Earl Morse Wilbur. Boston, Mass: Beacon Press. 1957. xxvii + 226 pp. \$5.

This minor classic in the historiography of social and political thought has hitherto remained hidden for most western students in the Polish language in which under the title *Ideologia Polityczna i Społeczna Braci Polskich* Professor Kot published it in Warsaw in 1932. The book is fortunate in its translator, for the late E. M. Wilbur was not only competent in the Polish language but as the most eminent American historian of Unitarianism understood the technicalities of what he was translating. Professor Kot has prefaced this English edition by an account, regrettably sketchy, of the community variously known as the Polish Brethren, Socinians, Ariens or Antitrinitarians. He has also taken the opportunity to add new material drawn from sources published since 1932. The great interest of this book lies in the story it tells of the effort to live the life prescribed in the New Testament within the framework of the Poland of Stephen Bathory and Sigismund Vasa. In the course of the hundred-year history of the Polish Antitrinitarian Church it became clear that a community which refused to recognize the authority of the State and the rightness of war or capital punishment, which refused service as magistrate or juryman, which demanded that lords should sell their lands and free their serfs and which maintained that all men, rich and poor, clerical and lay, should live by the labour of their hands, could only exist if it surrendered the hope of converting the world and was content to separate

itself as the tiny body of those who were alone true Christians. As with the Bohemian Brethren a hundred years earlier, such abnegation proved to be too hard for most, even for Fausto Sozzino himself, but the debate continued until the banishment of the Antitrinitarians from Poland in 1658 put an end to the community in Poland. Professor Kot recounts the great debate by quoting freely both the radicals and the compromisers. The only doubt left in the reader's mind is whether he was justified in divorcing the social and political ideas of the Brethren from their very radical theology as completely as he has done here. Is not the Socinian view of the Atonement of essential importance for the understanding of Socinian ethics? Be that as it may, we are fortunate in having Professor Kot's book to put beside Dr. Peter Brock's *The Political and Social Doctrines of the Unity of Czech Brethren* to give us the means for understanding the contribution of the West-Slavonic Protestant Reformation to the development of social and political theory.

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R. R. BETTS

THE PORT BOOKS OF BOSTON, 1601-1640. Ed. by R. W. K. Hinton. Lincoln Record Society. 1956. liii + 336 pp. 50s.

In this volume are printed in tabulated form transcripts of all the port books for overseas trade which have survived for the port of Boston between the years 1601 and 1640. Careful and painstaking collation of parallel accounts kept by the various customs house officials has enabled Mr. Hinton to present us with material covering no less than seventeen years of the period under consideration. In a scholarly introduction he gives an account of customs house organization at Boston and indicates some of the pitfalls which are encountered in the use of these documents. Few scholars will disagree with his conclusion that the safest course is to use port books for qualitative rather than quantitative information about trade.

This book contains, in effect, a valuable body of material for the study of the foreign trade of Boston in the first half of the seventeenth century. But by this time Boston's great days as a leading centre of the country's overseas trade were long since past. The wool export trade had completely disappeared; London and Hull were now absorbing the produce of much of the area which had formerly found its natural outlet through Boston, and much of the town's remaining importance rested on its position as a pivot of the flourishing coastal trade of this region. If the contemporary port books dealing with Boston's coastal trade had been printed together with these accounts of foreign trade, a more representative picture of the port's overall activities would have appeared, although the chronological period covered would have had to be considerably reduced in the compass of a single volume. It is much to be hoped that Mr. Hinton and the Lincoln Record Society will speedily produce another volume containing the surviving port books of coastal trade for this same period, thus providing a body of materials hitherto unparalleled in print for the study of the trade of a typical provincial port in the seventeenth century.

Birkbeck College, London

ALWYN A. RUDDOCK

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY EXETER. By W. B. Stephens. University of Exeter. 1958. xxvi + 203 pp. 30s.

One of the most precipitate of industrial expansions before the Industrial Revolution must, surely, be that which occurred in Devon between the

Restoration and the death of Charles II. The hinterland of Exeter, which as late as 1660 had nourished a group of very minor branches of the cloth industry, expanded its production ten- or twenty-fold and became one of the leading centres of the English cloth industry. In this book, the mid-century background and the course of the expansion of industry and trade, as well as its effects on business organization, are set out with admirable clearness, supported by tables drawn from trade and taxation records which have been handled with proper care. The writer does not claim to offer much to the social and political historian, but as a study in local economic history his book will be of great value. There is only one ground for complaint—that the reasons for this breakneck growth of the serge industry are left obscure. Why, after 1670, did its competition so quickly beat down Dutch industry and flood the markets of Holland's customers, at the same time capturing a large share in the English market for textiles? The substantial rise in wages in the Devon textile industry between 1650 and 1680, caused by increasing demand for labour, may have been counter-balanced by the economy in spinning costs resulting from the growing import of Irish yarn. Were there also new organizational or technical economies?

Mr. Stephens' work should, incidentally, scotch the myth that Monmouth's rebellion in 1685 gathered its strength in an area swept by industrial depression. The depressed area of the cloth industry, which was petitioning for relief in the early eighties, lay in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, not Devon; we now know that the serge district through whose fringes the pretender marched in the hopeful weeks when recruits were plentiful was at the flood tide of prosperity, with peak employment and real wages at the highest level of the century.

University of Hull

RALPH DAVIS

THE EASTLAND TRADE AND THE COMMON WEAL IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By R. W. K. Hinton. Cambridge University Press. 1959. 244 pp. 32s. 6d.

English trade with the Baltic has not attracted the attention that it deserves, despite the pioneer work of Maud Sellers. This neglect is especially true of the trade in the period after 1620, and it is this gap which Dr. Hinton seeks partly to fill. His book, as its curious title implies, deals both with the Eastland trade itself and with the relation of that trade to national policy. He traces the vicissitudes of the trade from the depression of 1620 to the end of the century. Here use is made of the Sound Toll Registers and, to a lesser extent, of the Port Books. These sources show that the trade was subject to great fluctuations, whether measured by the amount of cloth exported to the Baltic or by the number of English ships passing westbound through the Sound. They show, too, that the trade was based on the export of cloth and the import of such Baltic products as grain, hemp and flax, linen and canvas, pitch and tar and potashes. Later in the century colonial goods were re-exported to the Baltic, and wood and iron became of greater importance among the imports. Most of this trade was controlled and monopolized, at least in theory, by the Eastland Company. Dr. Hinton does not set out to write the history of that Company, for which adequate sources do not exist. Moreover as the Eastland Company was a regulated and not a joint-stock company, it is unlikely that a fuller knowledge of the Company as a corporate

body would throw much light on the trade of its members. The organization of that trade might, however, have been more fully explored.

Dr. Hinton's treatment of the 'common weal' is less convincing. The relationship of the chartered trading companies to the state has always interested historians, partly because the surviving evidence tends to bear on this point. Such companies derived their power from the state, which used them as subordinate agents for the enforcement of national policy. Indeed Dr. Hinton describes the Eastland Company as almost a government department; as such it could only rely on the state's support so long as it had a part to play in helping to enforce state policy. When the state enforced its policy directly, especially through the Navigation Acts, the Company lost its support and 'withered away'. There is some truth in this view, but it may not be the whole truth. When the state ceased to give its full support to many of the trading companies at the end of the seventeenth century, it may simply have recognized that such companies were not the best instruments for expanding trade, especially the export trade. It is significant that the loss of privileges, which some companies suffered in the sixteen-nineties, coincided with the removal of export duties on some manufactured goods. Though everyone may not agree with Dr. Hinton's views on these controversial subjects, his book gives a well documented discussion of them.

University of Manchester

T. S. WILLAN

Dr. J. P. Kenyon's *THE STUARTS* (London: Batsford, 1958. 240 pp. 25s.) neatly bridges the gap between its companion volumes, Mr. Christopher Morris's *Tudors* and Dr. Plumb's *First Four Georges*. Like them it is a dynastic portrait gallery in word and picture. The paintings—several of them unfamiliar—are well reproduced and they are seasoned with a few contemporary prints of places and incidents. The sub-title, 'A study in English kingship', is amply justified by the contents: the spicier side of court gossip comes into the picture only for such strictly relevant purposes as demonstrating how much less public policy was influenced by Charles II's mistresses (who are generously represented in the picture gallery) than by James I's male *seraglio* (which is absent). On the first Stuart Dr. Kenyon has little to say that is not generally accepted. It would perhaps be too much to assume that anything is generally accepted about his son (the 'definitive' biography promised by Dr. Kenyon's publishers will be awaited with interest not unmixed with scepticism!); but here, too, he blazes no new trails, unless the term be applied to his somewhat wearisome vendetta against Sir John Eliot. The most interesting passages occur in the chapters on the later Stuarts, among whom he shows himself far more at home. Naturally not all he says will command assent, for the scale of the book allows of little more than an *ipse dixit*. Perhaps his strangest conclusion is that James II was the 'most English' of the Stuarts. Which, one may ask, of the epithets he applies to James's subjects—'brilliant, violent, unstable, voluble'—can safely be predicated of this king whose 'terror' of them was 'one of the most important influences on his life'?

The perfunctory treatment of the Popish Plot leaves a gap in the evidence on which Charles II's 'kingship' must be judged; and the contrast drawn between Jesuits and 'regular' clergy is as misleading as the inclusion of the future Torrington, son of Charles I's attorney general, among those whom James II 'made from mud', or the allusion to the 'radical west'. The dismissal

of Wales and the Marches as 'semi-civilized' hardly does justice to the immensely successful work of the Tudors there; and Sacheverell's parish was not in Wales but in Shropshire. It is perhaps a pity that none of the Stuarts (unless Mary II)—none even of their advisers or adversaries—commands the author's whole-hearted admiration, and one could wish he had steered clear of lapses in taste like 'a gaggle of priests' or such cheap and outworn jibes as that Cromwell 'could usually identify his own best interests with the will of God'. But in general the book is concise, crisp and colourful in style, and will hold the reader's attention.

University College, Bangor

A. H. DODD

Dr. Maurice Ashley has added a thoroughly successful volume to the 'Teach Yourself History' series with his *OLIVER CROMWELL AND THE PURITAN REVOLUTION* (London: English Universities Press. 1958. 192 pp. 8s. 6d.). Beginning with the social, political and religious scene at Queen Elizabeth's death and ending with an assessment of the revolution's durable effects, he still has just over 100 pages to recount all that happened between the outbreak of civil war and the death of Cromwell. Obviously, so mighty a quart of English history will not go into a pint pot without some loss in the way of over-simplification, the most questionable instance of which concerns the part played by our old friend the 'expanding middle class' in the genesis of the revolution. But the clear, easy narrative conveys an astonishing amount of information without becoming overloaded. Above all, the picture of Cromwell which emerges is vital and essentially true—penetrating and not uncritical, but with a full appreciation of the man's stature. The balance between biography and national history is skilfully held, and Cromwell does not obtrude disproportionately upon the story until in historic fact he becomes its dominant figure. So wide-ranging and up-to-date an account of the revolutionary years is not to be found elsewhere in so small a compass.¹

University of Leeds

A. H. WOOLRYCH

BISHOP AND PRESBYTERY: THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, 1661-1688. By Walter Roland Foster. London: S.P.C.K. for the Church Historical Society. 1958. 182 pp. 25s.

A PROTESTANT PAPIST: BISHOP JOHN GORDON. By T. F. Taylor. London: S.P.C.K. for the Church Historical Society. 1958. 52 pp. 7s. 6d.

In 1560 Episcopacy was abolished in the Church of Scotland; in 1572, and more effectively later on in the reign of James VI, it was reintroduced; in 1640 it was again abolished and in 1661 again reintroduced, only to be once more abolished after the Revolution in 1689. For a completely unbiased account of the causes and significance of these changes, which may not yet have come to an end, it is vain to look either to Scottish or to English writers, and it is refreshing, therefore, to find in Mr. Foster 'an American, who has never even visited Scotland'. Residence in Manila has prevented him from consulting manuscript sources in his work, but he has apparently been lavishly provided with printed material, both primary and secondary, and it is on this that his careful study is based.

¹ A second edition, one hopes, will enable Dr. Ashley to bury the time-honoured errors that 300 puritan clergy were silenced under the canons of 1604, and 2000 deprived under the 1662 Act of Uniformity (here misdated 1661).

Its subject is what is usually termed the Second Episcopacy, roughly coterminous with the reigns of Charles II and James VII. During that period, Mr. Foster maintains, there was in Scotland a marriage of Presbyterianism and Episcopacy which was a genuine native development, 'a successful union of Calvinist discipline and episcopal order acceptable to the generality of the people', suggesting the possibility of future progress in the same direction. His case is persuasively argued and supported from contemporary documents, but one cannot but feel that a more intimate acquaintance with the social background of Scotland, against which all ecclesiastical arrangements require to be considered, would have led him to modify his conclusions.

The brief pamphlet in which Mr. Taylor has painstakingly gathered together every scrap of available information concerning that far from attractive character, John Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, has been read in proof by Mr. Foster, but the united efforts of these two authorities have not advanced our knowledge of him very far. The events connected with his admission to the Roman Catholic Church and the circumstances of his ordination still remain obscure.

ANDREW BROWNING

THE INTELLIGENCE OF THE SECRETARIES OF STATE AND THEIR MONOPOLY OF LICENSED NEWS, 1660-1688. By Peter Fraser. Cambridge University Press. 1956. xii + 177 pp. 21s.

The collection and dissemination of 'intelligence' or news was a much more troublesome affair under the later Stuarts than it is today. Not merely were the means of communicating it extremely slow, expensive and liable to frequent interruption, but the belief was generally entertained that news itself was a highly inflammable commodity, which should be handled only with the greatest care and by properly accredited individuals. For all these reasons the supervision of the entire system of intelligence was entrusted by the Government to the Secretaries of State, one of whose many duties it became to collect all the information they could, either from spies and other agents at home and abroad or by keeping a watchful eye on everything that went through the Post. This information was immediately placed at the disposal of the Government, which could direct its policy accordingly. Innocuous items were then published in the official *Gazette*, and sent out by a team of clerks in newsletters both to the Government agents in return for the contributions they had made and to favoured individuals who were prepared to pay £5 a year for the privilege.

Mr. Fraser's object in this interesting study is to show in detail how the whole system worked, more particularly during the period when it was under the control of the Earl of Arlington and Sir Joseph Williamson. Inevitably his main source of information has been the immense mass of manuscript and printed material which Williamson left behind him, but he has also had access to the Bath MSS. and other important collections. Of all this he makes excellent use, identifying the Government's correspondents both at home and abroad and indicating by means of examples the reliability of the information transmitted by them. Of special interest is a map displaying the whole intelligence network of Europe with estimates of the time normally taken by news to travel from each main centre to Dover or Harwich. It cannot be said that his volume is easy reading, and much necessarily remains obscure, but

it greatly facilitates the assessment of the value of a source of information which historians can never venture to neglect.

ANDREW BROWNING

Professor Edgar Wind's *PAGAN MYSTERIES IN THE RENAISSANCE* (London: Faber. 1958. 230 pp. 77 plates. 50s.) contains a series of scholarly and illuminating essays on the symbolism of renaissance painting. It is recommended reading for anyone who imagines that he knows what the pictures of the Italian renaissance are about.

IN THE BACKGROUND OF THE KNIGHTS' REVOLT 1522-1523 (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1958. vii + 128 pp. \$2.50) William R. Hitchcock gives us the first monograph specifically on the impact of Lutheranism on the imperial knights. He examines, in particular, the ideas and writings of Sickingen, Hutten, Eberlin von Günzburg and Hartmuth von Kronberg. His conclusion is that Lutheranism added another element of division to an already fatally divided class.

It has been estimated that the Emperor Charles V spent some 28 years in the Low Countries, 18 in Spain, 8 in the Empire, 2½ in Italy, seven months in France, four and a half months in Africa and two months in Lorraine. Apart from seven weeks in England, much of the remainder was in fact passed at sea. In a fascinating and scholarly little book *LES VOYAGES DE CHARLES QUINT* (Brussels: Collections Lebègue. 1957. 162 pp.) Miss Ghislaine de Boom describes these journeys and discusses their significance.

Professor G. B. Harrison's *A SECOND JACOBEOAN JOURNAL* (London: Routledge. 1958. x + 278 pp. 30s.) covers the years 1607 to 1610 and belongs to his series on 'things most talked of' during the period. He writes: 'I have used my sources freely, borrowing sometimes whole pages, sometimes phrases, at other times condensing or using my own words as seemed best'. The result is that, although this is an interesting and entertaining volume, it cannot be used as a collection of sources. The reader is left completely in the dark as to what particular liberty the editor has thought fit to take with each text.

LATER MODERN

PETER THE GREAT. By Vasili Klyuchevsky. London: Macmillan. 1958. 282 pp. 36s.

V. O. Klyuchevsky (1841-1911) stands among the bearded literary giants of the nineteenth century. He is one of the makers of modern historical writing and research in Russia as much as Tolstoy or Turgenev are among the progenitors of the modern European novel. Like the great novelists and unlike most Russian historians, Klyuchevsky had a sense of style that gives his work a lasting literary value. In one fundamental respect he was ahead of his time: he saw Russian history not as a succession of reigns and events but rather as a complex of problems in which the decisive factors were the social classes and the State with their respective political and economic interests. Being in no sense a Marxist, since the social process observed by

him was not a struggle but an interplay, he cannot be accused of heresy. At the same time, for one who died in 1911, his standpoint made his *Course of Lectures on Russian History* worthy of reprinting three times since the Revolution. Allowances had of course to be made: for the history lessons given to the heir to the Imperial throne, for the part played in the creation of the 'Bulygin' Duma and for the Great Russian nationalism.

Klyuchevsky never wrote a separate work on Peter the Great; the book under review consists of most of the relevant sections of the monumental *Course*. They comprise a striking portrait of the Tsar who gave Russia her personality of the 'Petersburg period' and a survey of Peter's reforms. The account may be incomplete and no longer up to date but is nevertheless basic. As has been said, Klyuchevsky's treatment of his subject is not that of a chronicler but of an investigator. Were Peter's aims new, as well as his methods? Was he fulfilling a task imposed upon him by the past or altering the course of history? Were the reforms worth the price paid in human misery? Was there in fact a 'Petrine' revolution? Was any change wrought in the structure of society? Were his economic measures successful, and to what extent? Did they transform the Russian economy? These are the controversial questions that Klyuchevsky asks and tries to answer, though his method suffers from one grave defect: it can be dialectical to the point of self-contradiction. His final judgement of Peter especially is ambiguous and inconclusive. If its object was to baffle the censor, it was achieved with a vengeance.

In his lectures Klyuchevsky deliberately concentrated on the internal history of Russia and paid a minimum of attention to foreign affairs. This one-sidedness seems to have led to a fundamental misrepresentation. Peter's reforms, he argues, were carried out to meet the needs created by the Northern War. It is now recognized, however, that it was Peter who conceived the idea of attacking Sweden in his desire to rule over a new Russia, firmly established on the Baltic and on the Black Sea and capable of capturing the trade between East and West. He had under-estimated his opponent, Charles XII, the war dragged on and the transformation of Russia followed a different course.

Mrs. Archibald's translation, though not free from blemishes, reads smoothly and includes some useful footnotes and bibliographical references but the system of transliteration is arbitrary and misleading. It is also a pity that Lecture LXIX devoted to the state of Russian society at the death of Peter, with its valuable sections on education and the ruling class, has not been included, to say nothing of that part of Lecture LXXIII which deals with the ultimate fate of Peter's reforms.

Christ's College, Cambridge

L. R. LEWITTER

THE CONDUCT OF THE DUTCH: BRITISH OPINION AND THE DUTCH ALLIANCE DURING THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION. By Douglas Coombs. The Hague and Achimota: Martinus Nijhoff for the University College of Ghana Publications Board. 1958. viii + 405 pp. 25 guilders. Tensions between allies are a phenomenon common to all coalitions in all ages, but those between English and Dutch in the Grand Alliance form a particularly interesting subject. Within Marlborough's own lifetime they had themselves fought three wars for naval and commercial supremacy, and the

period of alleged 'Dutch rule' under William III had supplied Tories with reasons of a different kind for hating foreigners who were intimate with their Whig opponents. The formation of the Grand Alliance could temporarily subordinate these jealousies to the necessity of defeating Louis XIV, but inevitably there were disagreements about the proportionate contributions to be made to the war effort, and different conceptions of the war aims to be pursued. War weariness led to a highly explosive situation, to which Jonathan Swift, at St. John's instigation, applied the match with his famous *Conduct of the Allies*; and the resulting outburst of xenophobic hysteria was so great that even the possibility of a further Anglo-Dutch war was seriously discussed.

Dr. Coombs has a comprehensive knowledge alike of official correspondence and of the voluminous journalism of the reign, and he has turned this to good account to produce a very detailed study, well-documented and full of judicious comments on the national and international scene. The phrase 'British opinion' in his title is used to cover both the attitude of ministers in their relations with the Dutch and the attitude of unofficial 'public opinion', and in the earlier chapters this leads perhaps to some loss of clarity when he is firing at each target in turn: it is only after the change of ministry in 1710 that the two subjects are combined with full effect into one unified theme, when Harley and St. John deliberately set out to change public opinion for the purposes of their policy. Even here, however, the phrase 'British opinion' might be further broken down: it includes London opinion and provincial opinion, the opinion of merchants, the 'moneyed interest' and the squire who hated the land tax, the opinion of those whose primary interest was in the struggle for power or the succession question. Though the author makes occasional suggestive allusions and argues that trading hostility was now only a subsidiary factor, one would have liked more assessment of the extent to which the Tory government's propaganda campaign appealed to different sections of public opinion, in so far as this can be estimated: Dr. Coombs seems to go too far when he commits himself to the statement that 'the subjects of queen Anne adopted a common standpoint from which to view the Dutch'. But the work is a useful preliminary to a long-needed revaluation of the Grand Alliance as a whole.

University of Sheffield

K. H. D. HALEY

If the belief that the Enlightenment is to be identified with an uncritical theory of progress is still seriously held in any quarter—and I dare say it is—it should not survive the material collected by Professor Henry Vyverberg in *HISTORICAL PESSIMISM IN THE FRENCH ENLIGHTENMENT* (Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1958. 253 pp. 45s.). Although Mr. Vyverberg's thesis is undoubtedly valid, and his book is scholarly, it is also rather disappointing. He skims over the ground, from Descartes to the Marquis de Sade, so rapidly that there is no time for more than a bird's eye view. It would take a more brilliant writer to reveal something worth while of, say, Pascal or Bayle in three pages each. Deschamps, Morelly, Mably and Rousseau are ticked off in a chapter of less than eight pages for the four. The subject, as the author rightly says, is a far more complex one than has sometimes been allowed, but he hardly succeeds in giving it coherence. More, indeed, might be learned, even on this point, from Mr. J. H. Brumfitt's *VOLTAIRE HISTORIAN* (Oxford University Press. 1958. 178 pp. 25s.). This is a careful survey which brings

out well both the extent and the quality of Voltaire's historical achievement. The impossibility of summing it up in any simple formula is also revealed: there is something of most ways of conceiving history in Voltaire, from the humanist theory of *Charles XII* through the social history, included, though not integrated, in *Le siècle de Louis XIV*, to the propaganda of *La Philosophie de l'histoire*. Mr. Brumfitt rightly charges Voltaire with failure to understand the psychology of historical figures. Indeed, what individuality have the characters in his tragedies or *contes*? But the suggestion of an improvement in historical studies is not very happily illustrated by placing Voltaire midway between Bossuet and Michelet or Taine. The *a priori* history of the latter two has much more in common with the history of Bossuet than with that of Voltaire, who had learnt from Bayle the nature of critical history, even though he did not always put it into practice. Mr. Brumfitt shows this in what is, on Voltaire, a useful study.

University College, London

A. COBBAN

LA LUTTE CONTRE LES ÉPIZOOTIES, ET L'ÉCOLE VÉTÉRINAIRE DE LYON AU XVIII^e SIÈCLE. By Henri Hours. Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1957. 94 pp. 350 fr.

At the end of the seventeenth century, epidemic diseases among farm animals were not properly treated, and generally led to very heavy losses. M. Henri Hours has examined contemporary records of several serious epidemics in central France, and shows how diagnosis and treatment gradually improved during the eighteenth century. In 1761 a veterinary college was founded at Lyon, for the purpose of training practitioners to combat epidemics among livestock; in its early years it attracted students from all parts of France and even from abroad, but later the larger college at Alfort, near Paris, was more popular. M. Hours, who has consulted the archives of the college and of several French departments, gives examples of the valuable work done by men trained at Lyon, who were often opposed by lay practitioners and even by the farmers themselves. His book is very well documented; it deals with a subject that has previously received little attention, and can be recommended to all who are interested in the rural economy of eighteenth-century France.

Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris

W. A. SMEATON

THE STATE AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN PRUSSIA 1740-1870. By W. O. Henderson. Liverpool University Press. 1958. xxiii + 232 pp. 37s. 6d.

This book consists of nine essays on specific topics which illustrate the economic rôle of the Prussian government in three general fields: the growth of the coal and iron industries, the revival of activity after the Napoleonic Wars, and the development of a railway system. There are also a brief statement of conclusions and a more extended introduction in which the author compares the contributions made by different governments to the industrialization of their countries and suggests a variety of reasons for the Prussian government's readiness to promote and regulate economic activity. With two exceptions, each essay is based on the career of a particular minister or official, and this makes possible a judicious and welcome blending of biographical with economic and technical material, which gives added realism

to the narrative. All the essays are admirably clear and thorough and amply documented—there are very few economic historians who can match the extent of Dr. Henderson's reading. Together they provide an excellent account of several aspects of Prussian industrial and commercial administration at various times and places. If, nevertheless, the book as a whole does not altogether satisfy it is because the material it presents is sufficient to raise more questions than it attempts to answer.

Doubt sets in as early as the title-page. Was there in Prussia anything that can justifiably be called an industrial revolution stretching as far back as 1740, or even going back earlier than 1840? True, there was some expansion of industry and some adoption of new techniques (usually non-mechanical ones) in the century after the accession of Frederick the Great. But if one considers the economic structure of Prussia about 1840, dominated by agriculture, with a diversity of handicrafts organized on the smallest scale and very little mechanized manufacture or large-scale mining, and if one compares it with that of Britain or Belgium, then Prussia hardly looks like a country in the midst of industrial revolution. And if all the industrial efforts of the Prussian government produced so small a result before the mid-nineteenth century, were they so wise and praiseworthy as appears from the present book? It is fairly clear what the government did. It is much less clear how important its economic actions were, relatively to those of private business, and how far they stimulated or inhibited economic activity generally. Dr. Henderson touches on the first point but says too little to help his readers to a conclusion. On the second point, there are signs in the 1850s that the high-handed policies of the Minister of Commerce, von der Heydt, may have slowed down railway development for a time because of the frustrations they imposed on private entrepreneurs. For the preceding century it is at least a possible hypothesis that the net effect of Prussian government activity was to retard industrialization, by maintaining so costly an army that too little was available for productive investment. Whether this is so or not, it is surely the case that neither the character of the industrial revolution in Prussia nor the rôle of the Prussian state in industrial development can be explained unless questions of this kind are discussed. Had Dr. Henderson tackled them in a comprehensive way his book might have been outstanding. As it is, on the lower plane of straightforward narrative history describing certain pieces of public administration, it is highly competent and very useful.

University of Bristol

W. ASHWORTH

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE MODERN WORLD: A SURVEY FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT. By E. E. Y. Hales. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1958. 332 pp. 30s.

This book starts off with the famous quotation about the New Zealander and Lord Macaulay. Mr. Hales has many of the virtues and defects of a Whig historian. His definite point of view helps to give him an eye for central issues. He has a lively and dramatic style and a great interest in power politics. Though, too, he writes as a Conservative, his conservatism is of a modern Whiggish brand, somewhat different from that of some recent Roman Catholic historians. He does not, for example, believe that a church establishment needs any longer to be regarded as the norm in church-state relations and

is especially interested in the history of Roman Catholicism in the United States of America under a political system, 'inspired by that religiously minded thinker, John Locke'. Like the Whig historians, he also tends to judge past conflicts in terms of those of the present day. Leaders of movements, who were once militantly hostile to Rome, tend to be viewed indulgently as long as their heirs are supporters of the cold war, but those whose successors are playing a different rôle are regarded with less sympathy. Thus very little is said in this book about the Catholic social movement in France which has been so thoroughly examined by Professor Duroselle, nor does his name appear in the bibliography. Roman Catholics in Africa or Asia are ignored.

If Mr. Hales shows himself friendly towards the liberal state, he is strongly opposed to liberalism within the church. Thus he welcomes the increased centralization and clerical control which, until recently, was such a feature of modern Roman Catholic history. Nor does he show any indulgence to the Modernist Movement which arose at the beginning of this century and which he describes as 'that most potentially powerful of all heresies'. Even the great Roman Catholic scholar and thinker, the Baron von Hügel, is dismissed as 'a waverer', while other names which might be considered as tainted with this heresy are not mentioned at all.

Nevertheless, Mr. Hales will often arouse the respect of historians who do not share his outlook. Given his point of view, he rarely overstates his case. He will compel those who disagree with him to realize that they have prejudices of their own and by his urbane and often judicious presentation of still highly controversial subjects may often compel them to modify their judgements.

University College of Swansea

NEVILLE MASTERMAN

THE SCHOOL TEACHERS: THE GROWTH OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION IN ENGLAND AND WALES FROM 1800 TO THE PRESENT DAY. By Asher Tropp. London: Heinemann. 1957. vii + 286 pp. 21s.

The publisher's wrapper claims for this book that it is 'the first to trace the social history of the teaching profession'. Like the sub-title, this gives a somewhat misleading impression of the contents. Dr. Tropp is indeed an academic sociologist, and he *could* have made a full social analysis, going well beyond the study of the elementary school teachers with whose aspirations and attempts at joint action through association this volume is almost entirely concerned. The whole story of the teachers still remains to be written.

The opening chapters provide the social background of the rise of the elementary school teacher as a self-conscious entity during the last period of charity-school activity and the experimental years of the monitorial schools. This was the time when the S.P.C.K.—the initials of which Dr. Tropp sadly enough is unable to spell out correctly—was passing its mission on to the National Society, an association of high churchmen concerned to promote the instruction of the masses and the reform of their morals in parish schools. During the next stage in the development of working-class education the State exercised, without responsibility, the guiding control, through the inspection of teaching, of its chosen instruments, the National, the British and other voluntary societies, a phase of activity which is covered in a lively

and illuminating way by the author, who shows a pleasing line of scepticism in handling received views about the motivation of the various partners in this uneasy compromise. This was the period of one of the bitterest cold wars ever known between religious, secular and administrative ideologies waged over the defenceless bodies of the children. One of Dr. Tropp's illustrations from *Punch* brings this out admirably. But in the text he is a little apt to overlook the concerns of the young beneficiaries in his preoccupations with teachers' grievances.

Redress of grievances and a sense of greater worth came from combination. All efforts to bring a single professional body into being, or, through registration or otherwise, to give even a general sense of corporate unity to all school teachers have come to grief. Dr. Tropp was apparently faced with two alternatives: either of throwing the net much wider and studying people in all kinds of schools, even in those private establishments whose proprietors made possible the foundation of the College of Preceptors; or of concentrating on the source material accumulated in the offices of the National Union of Elementary Teachers—in 1889 the word *Elementary* was dropped—thus confining the study to the personnel of the grant-supported day schools brought together under the Government's Elementary code of regulations.

The effect of his adoption of a N.U.T. viewpoint is two-fold. The book becomes patently the story of a 'struggle' of one large group for recognition and for a fair deal from the public. It also becomes a study of institutions rather than of factors in social change. Unhappily for those who have yearned for a one-big-union solution of differences, the whole story has been dominated by the institutional settings of the several kinds of school. The demarcation lines between the earliest associations of teachers were undoubtedly created by the sectarian jealousies of groups of voluntary schools offering employment. The national policy promised by the coming of the first Gladstone administration in the later 1860s brought all the elementary school teachers into a closer relationship. While the Commons were debating Forster's Bill in July 1870 the London teachers' leaders were meeting in King's College in the Strand and creating the N.U.E.T., the first task of whose president, J. J. Graves, was to question the Bill's uncertain attitude towards the certification of trained teachers. Dr. Tropp believes that the Cowper-Temple clause in the Forster Act, concerning religious instruction, was the basis of reconciliation among the teachers. But the secondary teachers, like their schools, were untouched: they were aloof. After this the shape of the pattern of association was greatly influenced by social and political factors where they bore upon the organization of the schools.

Dr. Tropp allows the nature of his sympathies to be apparent throughout his discussion of these matters, and they are most in evidence where he feels that division and secessionist revolt have hindered the assertion of the profession's claims to the management of its own affairs. He brings together a considerable amount of unused material bearing on the character of the struggle for a more respectable footing in the class structure, and on the consistently maintained effort of the organized teachers to direct the shaping of the country's educational policy at large. The level of aspiration has always been the powerful and privileged position of the medical profession.

This story of the growth of professional consciousness in what has become

one of the largest and most responsible-minded occupational groups should be on the reading list of all teachers in the public service. Part of its interest for them will undoubtedly lie in the extensive use made by the author of material printed in educational periodicals.

King's College, London

A. V. JUDGES

THE MECHANICS' INSTITUTES OF LANCASHIRE AND YORKSHIRE BEFORE 1851. By Mabel Tylecote. Manchester University Press. 1957. 346 pp. 37s. 6d.

In 1851 Lancashire and Yorkshire contained about one third of all Mechanics' Institutes and their members in the United Kingdom. Dr. Tylecote's monograph is therefore of more than regional interest, and indeed the problems it illustrates are very similar to those illuminated in T. Kelly's recent life of Birkbeck. At bottom, the author implies, the history of the institutes is one of failure, though she abandons it at the point of their greatest numerical success. They were (with some exceptions such as Keighley, Halifax, Stalybridge and Burnley) founded and led by middle class reformers of the 'Steam Intellect' type who promised the mechanics the chance of becoming a race of Dick Whittingtons—his example was frequently quoted—and the employers a supply of intelligent technical cadres. (The modern distinction between skilled operatives, technicians and technologists can hardly yet be made.) But in the long run British manufacturers were too uninterested in technical education to give the movement adequate support: the odd evolution which led them into growing technical complacency is not further sketched.

Less surprisingly, the operatives were uninterested in institutions whose curriculum did not meet their needs, partly from ignorance, partly from lack of sympathy, and which sought to force a highly uncongenial brand of politics and economics down their throats. In strictly educational terms the issues seem rarely to have been fought out as clearly in the North as in London, where the mechanics' demands for 'unorthodox' social science clashed head-on with the middle class patrons' desire for 'orthodox' political economy, with the result that eventually no social science at all was taught. Politics (which would certainly have turned out in that period to be anti-capitalist politics, especially in the North) was normally excluded from the start, the teaching of the social sciences being largely left to Owen and the Owenites with their 'Halls of Science'. The Institutes themselves largely catered for youngsters, clerks, warehousemen and the like. In Manchester these normally outnumbered the operatives by at least three to one.

The history of the important efforts of the working-class to educate itself in the period 1820-50 has still to be written, though Dr. Tylecote refers incidentally to some of them. Here and there (at least in Lancashire and Yorkshire) it overlaps with the history of the Institutes, but not much. Nevertheless Dr. Tylecote's careful study—though less useful than Kelly's as a general account of the whole movement—is a useful contribution to our knowledge of society in the age of the Chartists as well as of educational developments. It is based on, among other things, the records of twenty-six Mechanics' Institutes and a very impressive list of local periodicals, and may be taken as the standard account of its subject.

Birkbeck College, London

E. J. HOBSBAWM

LA PREMIÈRE RESTAURATION ET LES CENT JOURS EN ALSACE. By Paul Leuilliot. Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1958. xxxvii + 290 pp. 1900 fr.

This book is, we are told, the first section of a comprehensive study of Alsace at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is a mine of facts and references and of information concerning the administrative and military personnel of the region, from such distinguished prefects as Lezay-Marnesia and the Bretons Kergariou and La Vieuville to notables of much humbler status. The author has drawn widely from material in the Archives Nationales and the departmental and other archives and has had the advantage of access to the unpublished papers of the charming and perspicacious Chevalier de la Salle, the Comte d'Artois's special commissioner for the 5th Military Division, whose mission is the subject of one of the sections of the book. He provides a bibliography of nearly 30 pages and corrects previous authors on a good many points of detail. It will be long before anyone else is likely to tread the same ground so minutely. Apart from its biographical value, the chief contribution of the book undoubtedly lies in its study of the administrative problems confronting the officials successively placed in charge of the Bas-Rhin and the Haut-Rhin and in its analysis of the weaknesses which meant that the first Restoration government gained but a slight hold upon the hard-headed Alsations, among whom economic grievances (the sale of communal forest lands, the maintenance of the tobacco monopoly and *droits réunis*) loomed large. But it must be said that, like many other specialized works by contemporary French historians, the style is often so compressed as to make arduous reading. It has none of the grace of the work of Christian Pfister, to whom along with Georges Pariset it is dedicated, and it lacks the advantage of either an introduction or conclusion to pull the threads of argument together. No doubt this is due to the fact that it is a 'chapitre détaché' from the promised larger history, to whose appearance anyone interested in the history of this rich and highly individual borderland will, none the less, gladly look forward.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

J. P. T. BURY

ROMA DA MAZZINI A PIO IX: RICERCHE SULLA RESTAUZIONE PAPALE DEL 1849-1850. By Alberto M. Ghisalberti. Milano: Dott. A. Giuffrè. 1958. viii + 293 pp. 1500 l.

This latest of the author's studies in Risorgimento history discusses the diplomatic and political circumstances surrounding the affairs of Rome, from the fall of Mazzini's republic in July 1849 to the restoration of Pope Pius IX in April 1850. It develops a theme on which he wrote an article in the *Archivio della Società romana* in 1949; and it really forms a sequel to his *Rapporti delle cose di Roma, 1848-1849* (1949). In the *Rapporti* Professor Ghisalberti edited the letters of the Netherlands ambassador to the Holy See, A. de Liedekerke, written during the revolutionary months at Rome; this new volume is based largely on Liedekerke's reports during the revolutionary period.

The story is one of the refusal—and, to be fair, the inability—of the three cardinals who ruled Rome from August 1849 to April 1850, and after that of the restored Papal government, to reorganize the polity of the Papal States along liberal lines. But the author also makes it clear that even a return to the Roman Constitution of March 1848 (had that been possible)

would have failed to meet the new situation. In what he has to say may be seen his just conviction, based on that of the wisest observers at the time, that the Temporal Power, wedded as it was to the Spiritual Power, was not susceptible of reconstruction on a liberal basis, and was therefore anachronistic.

E. E. Y. HALES

LORD DERBY AND VICTORIAN CONSERVATISM. By W. D. Jones. Oxford: Blackwell. 1956. 367 pp. 37s. 6d.

The fourteenth Earl of Derby, although three times Prime Minister, was never commemorated in the manner of most of his kind by a substantial contemporary biography based upon his private papers. For this reason a modern study of his political career has long been needed. Unfortunately, Derby's papers have not been available to scholars and were not available to Professor Jones for this work. He has, therefore, been faced by a double difficulty. First, he has had no equivalent of Morley or Buckle to guide him and, secondly, he has had no opportunity of working for himself at Knowsley. The outcome is a disappointing book. In spite of a formidable apparatus of learning, Professor Jones has not done justice to the political significance of Derby's career. The preservation of a conservative party after the crisis of 1846 and its gradual transformation and expansion into the triumphant party of the 1870s was Derby's achievement as much as Disraeli's. Professor Jones seizes on this truth and does his best to demonstrate it; but he is strangely out of sympathy with his subject, unable to appreciate his flamboyant and many-sided personality, his wit, or his abilities. Further, although the author wisely observes in the course of his narrative that 'Derby should not be judged outside of his century' his numerous judgements reveal him as incapable of observing his own precept.

When he turns to the wider political scene of the mid-nineteenth century and attempts to interpret the aims and purposes of its politicians, Professor Jones is crude and lacking in subtlety. He exaggerates the opposition of industry and land and of class feeling between individuals, in particular ascribing Derby's differences with Peel and Disraeli to their social origins without citing any convincing evidence for this. He avoids difficult problems by reference to 'the spirit of the times' or by pleading the necessity for 'indulging in some speculation'. And he is always ready to explain the decisions of individual politicians by inferring personal ambition. Thus Palmerston, Aberdeen and Newcastle are all accused of acting for selfish reasons. In dealing with Derby's own motives, Professor Jones vastly inflates his fears of social and political upheaval, even to the extent of misconstruing his sources as when he inserts into one of Derby's letters to Croker in 1847 an expression of fear of republicanism which has no place in the text.

This straining of sources is not limited to those in print. At one point Professor Jones mentions that in 1849-50 there were grounds for believing that Aberdeen would actively join the Conservatives. He founds this on what he calls the 'flood of correspondence' between Derby and Aberdeen for these years. But although they corresponded on specific parliamentary issues at this period, there was no such flood; and Aberdeen certainly had no such intention, telling Gladstone in this context in November 1849, 'I see no chance of any reunion'. Besides exaggerating the number and significance of unpublished letters, Professor Jones is not above editing them to suit his

argument. On 1 March 1852, he maintains, Derby was assured of help from the Peelites as a result of an 'agreement' with Aberdeen, and he cites part of a letter from Aberdeen of this date in support. But he does not cite the preceding sentence of this letter which made it plain that Aberdeen was speaking for himself alone and that he had been blamed for going even so far as this.

Professor Jones's weakness in analysis and in handling sources is aggravated by much uncertainty in dealing with the political background. Some trifling slips are symptomatic of this: Argyll, the only minister to enter politics as a Peelite after Peel's death, is described as 'an influential Whig'; Clarendon is included in the government in 1859, although he did not join till 1864; an Italian ambassador appears before Italy existed; and the views of back-bench Conservatives in 1859 are illustrated by reference to a letter of Henry Drummond, as if that elderly eccentric and prophet of the Irvingite Church was a typical Tory squire. But more serious than these errors of detail is Professor Jones's lack of assurance when describing party and parliamentary developments during the 1850s. He is quite at sea when considering the part played by the Peelite leaders and their followers between 1850 and 1857. He states that the death of Peel did not alter the position of the Peelites, which is the reverse of the truth; he retains the illusion that many of the Peelites were liberal in religious matters (although the majority of them voted in favour of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill); and he consistently writes as if the rump of Peelite leaders after the collapse of the Coalition government in 1855 had an organized party of followers behind them. His account of the formation of Palmerston's first ministry is misleading since it omits all reference to Lansdowne's previous failure to form a government. And, finally, his explanation of the decline of Palmerston's power in 1858-9 fails to take account of Russell's importance as a focus of anti-Palmerston feeling and of Graham's active part in supporting him.

The art of political biography is a difficult one. It requires scholarly and literary qualities; but above all it demands a sympathetic appreciation and understanding of the past and its problems. To some extent Professor Jones's failure is the consequence of not understanding sufficiently the nature of the nineteenth-century political society he was studying.

Christ Church, Oxford

C. H. STUART

THE INDEPENDENT IRISH PARTY, 1850-9. By J. H. Whyte. Oxford University Press. 1958. 201 pp. 25s.

Between the Great Famine and the emergence of fenianism Irish affairs attracted comparatively little attention from British politicians, but it was during this period that the first serious attempt was made to build up a strong Irish party at Westminster. Mr. J. H. Whyte gives a compact and workmanlike account of this attempt and its failure, and corrects some popular misconceptions about it. In particular, he shows that the defection of two of the party's leaders, Sadleir and Keogh, had not the disastrous effect commonly attributed to it, and that the party had a longer life than might be deduced from Gavan Duffy's personal account of it in his *League of north and south*.

Mr. Whyte's shrewd assessment of the Irish political scene brings out over and over again the enormous political influence of the Roman Catholic

clergy, and the extent to which the independent party depended on their support. One result of this was that clerical influence was often decisive in the choice of candidates, and it is perhaps not unreasonable to see here one reason for the weakness in leadership that helped to bring about the party's collapse. Some light might be thrown on this by a comparison between the independent party of the 1850s and the more successful home rule party of later years; but Mr. Whyte confines himself strictly to his appointed task, and deliberately refrains from any attempt to link up the various phases of the Irish parliamentary movement. In some ways his self-denial is to be regretted; but, within the limits he has set himself, his work is not likely to be soon superseded.

Queen's University, Belfast

J. C. BECKETT

THE RISE OF THE BRITISH RUBBER INDUSTRY. By William Woodruff.

Liverpool University Press. 1958. xvii + 246 pp. 35s.

Few textbooks of modern British economic history contain satisfactory accounts of industrial development in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a weakness which simply reflects the paucity of good monographs in this field, and the rubber industry is but one of many of our newer industries which has been slow to find a historian. It cannot be said, however, that this book makes the best use of its opportunity. The rubber industry in this country is little more than one hundred years old, but by confining his account to the first half of this period, Professor Woodruff has precluded himself from taking account of two of the most significant influences on the industry's development—the rise of the motor industry, and the invention of synthetic rubber—which fall in the second half. Even within this limitation the book falls short of expectations justifiably aroused by its title, since it is not so much an account of the rise of the industry as the history of a single relatively small firm in it.

Within these self-imposed limitations, Professor Woodruff has produced a useful business history. Stephen Moulton, who established a small rubber manufactory at Bradford-on-Avon in 1848, left behind him a splendid collection of business records which have been skilfully used to illustrate the problems of techniques, raw material supply, finance and organization with which the infant industry wrestled in the second half of the nineteenth century. Of these problems, those associated with the supply of raw natural rubber were probably the most obtuse, and this is one of the few aspects that has drawn the author into a broader discussion of the organization of the industry. It has also led to the compilation of some useful statistical tables which, in spite of the irritating fact that they all finish arbitrarily in 1900, will probably be the feature which economic historians will find most useful.

M. W. FLINN

BANKERS AND PASHAS. By David S. Landes. London: Heinemann. 1958.

xvi + 354 pp. 30s.

Professor Landes's fascinating study of international finance and economic imperialism in Egypt during and immediately after the cotton boom of the early 1860s is based upon the correspondence (now in the archives of De Neufville, Schlumberger et Cie) between two French bankers—Edouard Dervieu of Alexandria and Alfred André of Paris, who was a partner in the

firm of Adolphe Marcuard et Cie. The first two chapters describe the structure and working of international finance in the middle of the nineteenth century. The third chapter discusses in outline the development of the Egyptian economy under Mehemet Ali, Abbas and Said and the prosperity that came to the country when the high price of cotton suddenly brought new wealth to Egypt at the time of the American civil war. The rest of the book is devoted to the banking career of Edouard Dervieu in the last years of Said's rule and the early years of Ismail's rule.

Egypt in the middle of the nineteenth century was a region of great potentialities for economic advancement provided that the necessary capital and technical skill were available. Both could come only from Western Europe. But the difficulties were immense. Authority lay in the hands of an Oriental despot. The public finances were in a chronic state of disorder since both the national debt and the private debts of the Viceroy were continually increasing. The administration was utterly corrupt and the condition of the peasants was one of extreme wretchedness. The author is quite at home in the sordid intrigues that characterized the financing of the Viceroy and the provision of capital for agriculture and industry in Egypt in the boom period of the early 1860s. In describing the struggles between Dervieu and his rivals he has a fascinating story to tell.

Professor Landes's monograph has, however, one weakness. The progress of the economy of an underdeveloped country can no doubt be successfully examined by studying the achievements of the leading entrepreneurs and financiers who provide the driving force which leads to expansion. In the Egypt of the early 1860s, however, Dervieu was not the leading figure in the world of finance. De Lesseps and the Oppenheims—each in their own way—played a far more important rôle in Egyptian affairs than Dervieu. The author cannot ignore de Lesseps altogether but the account of the building of the Suez Canal is described as merely 'a digression'. This attempt to describe a very important phase in the development of the modern Egyptian economy suffers from being tied too closely to the fortunes of a banker who just failed to achieve his ambition of dominating Egyptian finance. It may be added that the author uses a number of words and expressions (such as 'renege') which are no doubt in common use in American academic circles but will not be familiar to English readers. The 'British natives' on p. 87, for example, are presumably 'subjects of the British Crown'.

University of Manchester

W. O. HENDERSON

THE GREAT SIBERIAN MIGRATION. By D. W. Treadgold. Princeton Univ. Press: O.U.P. 1958. 278 pp. 40s.

This book describes in detail the process of peasant migration to Siberia up to 1914, and in fair detail the general agrarian policy of the Russian government up to that time. It deliberately omits, *inter alia*, Siberian mining, manufacturing and towns, and the religious and national composition of the migrants.

Perhaps one should never complain that a book was not intended to be something else. But certainly these conscious self-limitations make the scope narrow and peculiar. It may well be true, for instance, that only a separate book could do justice to Siberia's rural co-operatives, but the balance of this one stringently requires a few pages on them. Nor are the comparisons of

living standards with those of the old country anything like sufficiently thorough and developed.

Essentially the author's aim is a favourable re-appraisal of the Stolypin-Chayanov school: those who preferred free individual peasant farming to either government regulation or the Commune. All the histories stress the application of this policy to European Russia, in making peasant property absolute and facilitating the consolidation of strips. We are here given the Siberian corollary: subsidized migration to relieve discontent and over-population at home. With this re-appraisal your reviewer agrees: Stolypin and Chayanov were right, and their opponents were either timid bureaucrats who had rather hinder development than lose control, or totally unrealistic intellectuals of the Marxist or Social-Revolutionary stamp. The ignorance and futility of the intelligentsia's criticism is shown very convincingly.

But did Stolypin do nothing wrong? Refreshing in a way not to be told for the millionth time that he overtly replied: 'not on the needy and the drunken, but on the sturdy and the strong'; that is, that he had little time for agricultural labourers and poor peasants. But after all he did rely on the kulaks. The 'concentration of capital' did occur on the land (in the sense that kulaks gained over small peasants; the nobility, of course, lost). Perhaps the poor were not hurt by it, since after all they were more free to sell out and migrate than ever before. It is a plausible view (and the reviewer shares it), but one can agree with the author and still reproach him for not facing the question.

And behind the acceptance of Stolypin there seems to lurk, imponderable but not insensible, an acceptance of Tsarism itself. How does the word '1905' fail to crop up? 'Siberia in 1905'? 'Migration and 1905'? Not even '1905 and the Rise of Stolypin'? And what about the exile policy? Figures for exiles are indeed given, but if the conditions are described under which free migrants arrived why are not those which applied to prisoners? However, this bias, if it is indeed present, does not affect the book, or its thesis that Stolypin was right and the effects of his policy were such and such.

Turning to more technical aspects, the comparison with the American Frontier is rather over-emphasized. In climate Siberia resembles Canada: only a thin southerly strip is habitable (as the author admits, p. 13). Hence the quantitative unimportance of Siberia: it could never have siphoned off even the natural increase of rural European Russia (c. 1.5 million per annum at the turn of the century, or seven times the annual migration to Siberia). This crucial point is nowhere made. Indeed the migration figures are exaggerated since they include people who came back again. It is not even noticed that the smaller figures of Table 2 are 'net', giving 'settlers' not 'migrants', and correspond very well with the larger figures of Table 3 when those are also presented 'net'.

On the side of colonization theory again the American parallel is overplayed. It was not in America that an aristocratic government and settled society faced the problem of an expanding, democratic, uncontrollable 'territory' in which free land played havoc with all political, economic and social relationships. This was the problem of imperial Britain *vis-à-vis* Australia and Canada. There should be less here of Frederick Jackson Turner and more of Gibbon Wakefield, whose pre-occupation with the

contradiction between free land and a hierarchical society precisely mirrors Stolypin's own.

New College, Oxford

P. J. D. WILES

Dr. Richard H. Wilde's *JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC, 1895-1899: A STUDY IN THE FORMULATION OF IMPERIAL POLICY* (reprinted from the *Archives Year Book for South African History, Nineteenth Year*, vol. i. Pretoria. 1957. xiv + 162 pp.) is a careful and objective piece of work, the value of which is limited by the fact that the author has not had access to all the principal sources. Although Dr. Wilde has made full use of the Colonial Office papers, he has not been able to consult Chamberlain's own papers, apart from certain transcripts; nor has he examined those of Salisbury or any archive material in South Africa. Within these limitations, of the importance of which he is himself fully aware, Dr. Wilde's study of Chamberlain's policy is of considerable value. He discusses in some detail the controversial question of the colonial secretary's alleged complicity in the Jameson raid and concludes that 'he [Chamberlain] neither planned or expected a filibustering expedition in advance of a revolution'. So far as the attempted revolution itself is concerned, however, his verdict is that Chamberlain 'insisted that every effort be made to see that the Union Jack should fly over the former republic, and he actually pulled the trigger of the infernal machine when he had Fairfield speak to Maguire about the timing of the revolt'. But Dr. Wilde also argues convincingly that it was the men on the spot who were chiefly responsible for most of the decisions in South Africa in the years under review; Milner, in particular, 'was able to push Chamberlain ahead into an aggressive policy which he would probably not of his own accord have adopted'. It is a pity that Dr. Wilde has not paid more attention to the characters and backgrounds of the men and women who figure in his story; even his sketch of Chamberlain is superficial and not altogether accurate. It would have been helpful, too, if he had indicated more clearly the points at which he disagrees with other writers in this field. But he has set out his conclusions, which he has evidently reached only after much reflection, vigorously and unambiguously; they are not flattering to British statesmanship. This is a stimulating interim report on an important subject.

King's College, London

CHRISTOPHER HOWARD

NORTHERN IRELAND IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR. By John W. Blake.

Belfast: H.M.S.O. 1956. 569 pp. 30s.

To have achieved within the compass of a single volume an account of Northern Ireland's varied contribution in the Second World War is a praiseworthy effort on the author's part. As an official historian he has maintained commendable impartiality and his criticisms of official policy are effective. The opening chapter on the historical background will be of permanent value to students of politics as well as those of history, and must become one of the sources of understanding the experiment in the devolution of government under the stress of war. The potential and, to a certain extent actual, conflict between the powers reserved for Whitehall and those transferred to Stormont is well illustrated, and the machinery for co-ordination that was developed is here revealed in detail.

In the subsequent chapters Professor Blake attempts the almost impossible

task of combining an account of the developments on the home front, which included such problems as the aftermath of severe air raids on Belfast, the threat of conscription to a population that regarded it as a party issue and the problems of increasing agricultural and industrial production, with an account of the deeds of Ulster units in H.M. Forces in different parts of the world. In addition a long chapter is concerned with the effects of the arrival of the U.S. forces in Northern Ireland in 1941 and the consequent local and international repercussions. To retain a consistent theme with such a wide field presented the author with obvious difficulties. In spite of occasional repetition and over-lapping he is to be congratulated on achieving a clear picture.

The Queen's University, Belfast

D. G. NEILL

GESCHICHTE DES ZWEITEN WELTKRIEGES IN DOKUMENTEN. Vols. 2 and 3. Ed. by Michael Freund. Freiburg: Herder; Freiburg and Munich: Karl Alber. 1955 and 1956. Vol. 2. AN DER SCHWELLE DES KRIEGES. xvi + 503 pp. DM. 29.50. Vol. 3. DER AUSBRUCH DES KRIEGES 1939. 1956. x + 441 pp. DM. 28.

The second and third volumes in this series devoted to the history of the Second World War fully maintain the high standard of scholarship and impartiality established by the first. Professor Freund once again applies the method of selection of extracts from diplomatic documents, memoirs and evidence given at the Nuremberg trials, connecting them by means of short narrative and explanatory passages. The second volume deals with the period from Hitler's occupation of Bohemia and Moravia on 15 March 1939 to the early days of August. The main themes of this volume are Hitler's endeavour to isolate Poland and bring her under German control, and the attempts of the Western Powers to organize a defensive coalition to deter German military action. The third volume covers the events leading up to the British and French declarations of war on Germany on 3 September. It records the mounting tension as Hitler intensified his preparations for war, and the competition between the Western Powers and Germany for the alliance or neutrality of the Soviet Union respectively. The Western Powers were embarked on a desperate effort to maintain a precarious status quo in Eastern Europe, which was unfavourable to the Soviet Union; both Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union sought to overthrow the status quo, and though their long-term aims conflicted, their short-term interests coincided.

University College of Wales, Aberystwyth

IEUAN G. JOHN

DEUTSCHLAND UND DER ENGLISCH-RUSSISCHE GEGENSATZ, 1900-1914 by Dr. Oswald Hauser (Göttingen: Musterschmidt. 1958. 288 pp. DM. 22.50) is an attempt to reassess the Anglo-German estrangement before 1914 in the light of British world policy; the conclusion, which would not be questioned by English historians, is that serious causes of friction between England and Russia remained after the entente of 1907, and that a more accommodating and less fatalistic German foreign policy might even have prevented Britain's entry into the war as Germany's opponent in 1914. While the work does not offer anything new in the way of material it is a lucid and competent short study, with an undertone of modest appeal to the two countries not to exaggerate the importance of past differences.

Dr. O. H. Radkey's *THE AGRARIAN FOES OF BOLSHIEVISM* (Columbia University Press. O.U.P. 1958. 521 pp. 68s.) is a profound and original study, based upon a meticulous examination of primary sources, of the collapse of the Socialist Revolutionaries in Russia between February and October 1917. Instead of carrying out immediately the radical agrarian and other reforms vital to appease mass discontents, they preached class collaboration for the sake of national defence. Dr. Radkey believes that this meant sacrificing Russia's interests to those of her allies, bent on 'imperialist' plunder. Even those who cannot accept the latter thesis will probably agree that a separate peace would have been preferable to the actual consequences of the attempt to prolong the war.

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND. A STUDY OF DÁIL ÉIREANN, 1919-1948 by J. L. McCracken (Oxford University Press. 1958. 229 pp. 30s.) is a scholarly study of the origin, development, and working of the parliamentary system of the Irish Republic, which has interest for both the historian and the political scientist. *Inter alia* it deals with the making of a constitution under conditions of near or open civil war, the functioning of an elaborate system of proportional representation, and the adjustment and final breaking of constitutional links with the British Commonwealth.

A valuable, thoroughly documented account of a critical phase in recent French history is provided by Adrienne Doris Hytier in *TWO YEARS OF FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY, VICHY 1940-1942* (Geneva: Droz; Paris: Minard. 1958. 402 pp. 20 fr. Sw.). Even those who cannot agree with all of Miss Hytier's interpretations will be indebted to her scholarship.

THE AMERICAS

LES FRANÇAIS EN AMÉRIQUE PENDANT LA DEUXIÈME MOITIÉ DU XVI^e SIÈCLE: LES FRANÇAIS EN FLORIDE. Edited by Suzanne Lussagnet, with an introduction by C. A. Julien. Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1958. viii + 268 pp. 1200 fr.

This is the second part of the second volume in the series 'Les Classiques de la Colonisation', and contains the texts—with annotations—of Ribault (1563, translated from the English), Laudonnière (1586), Le Challeux (1566), and Gourges (1568) on the French ventures in modern South Carolina and Florida during the years 1562-8. The book is most welcome since, with its predecessors on the French in America in the first half of the sixteenth century (1946) and in Brazil in the second (1953) and C. A. Julian's narrative, *Voyages de découverte* (1948), it completes a compact and effectively documented account of French activity in America over the greater part of the sixteenth century, though it may be noted that the period 1568-1600 still offers opportunities for research and synthesis.

Dr. Julien contributes a very brief but stimulating introduction on the crisis in Franco-Spanish relations which the French expeditions evoked, but neither he nor Madame Lussagnet provides any general discussion of the sources such as appeared for example in the prefatory matter to the 1946 volume, nor is there any full list of contemporary and subsequent editions of

the texts which are reprinted. The texts themselves are reliably handled and effectively annotated. The great strength of the annotation lies in the detailed and authoritative ethnological notes. These make a real contribution to the understanding of the Indian milieu in which the French found themselves in America and which they attempted to describe. The geographical notes are adequate but could have been made more effective by maps showing both the general range of French activity and the details of the journeys made by Laudonnière and others. Natural history too is adequately covered though a little more detail was desirable in places. The historical notes, however, are more erratic. Those relating other French materials to the texts printed are sound but the attempt to key them to the Spanish sources is scarcely adequate. There are too some signs of haste in the completion of the notes. P. 38, n. 4, has a reference which would involve wading through nine stout volumes to find; p. 42 has a reference to a paper by H. G. Smith (*recte* H. H. Smith?) which is not in the book-list or identifiable from the particulars given. There are some comparable slips in the index which is, in general, a good one. But such minor blemishes are not of great importance and are almost inevitable in such a task. Where the editor falls down is in not knowing enough about the English associations of the voyages and texts. On p. 28 she comments on Basanier's dedication of his edition of Laudonnière to Raleigh without making any reference to the vital part Richard Hakluyt played in its appearance (indeed Hakluyt's commendatory verse on p. 33 is not even indexed), while the edition of the *Principal navigations* cited in the book-list omits all the French materials on the Florida voyages. Then too she gives no indications that the continuity of Franco-Indian relations on the South Carolina Coast was scarcely broken between 1565 and 1580 (or even later), which leaves the Gourgues attack on the Spaniards in too great an isolation. Despite these qualifications the volume will meet most of the needs of the historical student and is a very valuable addition to the available materials on Franco-American relations in their earliest phase.

University of Liverpool

DAVID B. QUINN

THOMAS GAGE'S TRAVELS IN THE NEW WORLD. Edited by J. Eric S. Thompson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1958. lii + 380 pp. \$5.

No one has ventured for two hundred years to reprint Thomas Gage's *The English-American, his Travail by Sea and Land*, as it first appeared in 1648. Its polemic against the papists and its reliance on Gómara's text for illustrative detail on Spanish-American history, as well as the bulk of the book, have deterred modern editors. Yet the student must read the original if he is to get the full flavour of a book which played a substantial part in launching Britain against the Spanish Indies in the 1650s. At the same time the original part of Gage's work is that which describes what he saw and did in Mexico and Guatemala between 1625 and 1637. The late A. P. Newton excised this and published it with a useful introduction on Gage in 'The Broadway Travellers' in 1928. Dr. Thompson now comes along with a very similar selection, but one made after a careful consultation of the original, and with some new biographical detail. He is an authority on the area which Gage described and his footnotes (few but cogent) and photographs illuminate the narrative. This reads better on each occasion. The egotistical friar had a

racy pen and a sharp eye for detail and he gives a most effective picture of the towns he lived in and the personalities he encountered. The narrative has an Elizabethan flavour and perhaps this is what recommended it particularly to Cromwell. As such it sharply criticizes Spaniards from an English point of view and attacks Catholic practices. But its evocation of the Latin-American scene is almost always fresh and sometimes brilliant, so that it brings to life the official documentation of the period. Gage renounced the Church on his return to England, handed over some Catholics to the Parliamentarians, and became a Rome-hating minister of the church at Deal before he set out on his last travels with the Venables expedition, dying in 1656 in the newly-conquered Jamaica; but, as Dr. Thompson shows, he retained a certain ambivalence in his religious leanings.

University of Liverpool

DAVID B. QUINN

GEORGE WASHINGTON. By Marcus Cunliffe. London: Collins. 1959. 192 pp. 18s.

This short book is a valuable contribution towards an understanding of Washington and of the age in which he lived. Written in an elegant style—occasionally marred by some journalistic tricks—and drawing upon a wide acquaintance with the literature of American history, Mr. Cunliffe has provided an account of Washington which is both impressionistic and penetrating. To the brief but coherent survey of Washington as a soldier he brings the competence of a professional military historian, but it is the estimate of Washington as a man that many will find the most rewarding part of the book. He solves the problems which have faced all biographers of Washington—that of finding the man behind what he calls ‘the Washington Monument’—by observing that ‘to humanize Washington is to run the risk of falsifying—of losing the essential truth of his personality’. The eighteenth century had a ready-made model of the public man. ‘His age differed profoundly from ours . . . in certain ways he is better understood within a classical framework than as a man of modern times.’ The idealized Roman model appealed particularly to those Americans who were conscious of their destiny in founding a new order upon the basis of Republican virtue, and Washington knew the pattern of behaviour to which a public man should conform. Others built the monument but Washington consciously provided them with the materials, and in the process the simple human being became submerged and not particularly important. Here is an interesting suggestion and one which is capable of a wider application.

Selwyn College, Cambridge

W. R. BROCK

THE FEDERAL CONVENTION AND THE FORMATION OF THE UNION OF THE AMERICAN STATES, edited by Winton U. Solberg in the American Heritage Series (New York: The Liberal Arts Press. 1958. cxviii + 409 pp. \$1.75), is a most valuable collection of the essential documents of the Revolutionary period from 1765 to 1791, with a series of brief biographies of the Founding Fathers, and an excellent long introduction on ‘The Genesis of American Constitutionalism’.

The life and times of a North Carolina Federalist who fought against the British in the Revolution, served as Governor of his state and was in 1800

Ambassador in Paris are described by Blackwell P. Robinson in WILLIAM R. DAVIE (North Carolina University Press; O.U.P. 1957. 495 pp. 48s.). More research has gone into the study than the subject's life would seem to warrant.

A clear and vivid account of John Adams' single term, and of his struggle with Hamilton and with his pro-Hamilton Cabinet is provided by Stephen G. Kurtz in THE PRESIDENCY OF JOHN ADAMS (Pennsylvania University Press; O.U.P. 1958. 448 pp. 68s.). It credits Washington with more political *finesse* than is warranted, but is otherwise a sound piece of analysis.

CREATED EQUAL. THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES OF 1858 (University of Chicago Press; Cambridge University Press. 1958. xxiii + 422 pp. 56s. 6d.), edited with an introduction by Paul M. Angle, is a useful one-volume edition of the debates, published in the centennial year.

The Civil War diary of Robert Garlick Hill Kean, ably edited by Edward Younger under the title INSIDE THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT (New York and London: O.U.P. 1958. xxxvi + 241 pp. 35s.), is a revealing account of the inner workings of the Confederate War Department by one of its leading officials. Though not as full as the oft-quoted diaries of J. B. Jones and Mrs. Chesnut, Kean's is better-informed and more discerning than either. It is especially valuable for its incisive commentary on Confederate leadership and for the light it throws upon Southern public opinion.

Far too many books on the American Civil War are being produced. The majority are either trivial and journalistic, or else flat and antiquarian. No doubt hundreds more will appear before the centennial year 1961 is reached. THE CIVIL WAR: A SOLDIER'S VIEW (University of Chicago Press: C.U.P. 1958. 323 pp. 45s.) is a collection of writings by Colonel G. F. R. Henderson, carefully edited by Jay Luvaas. Henderson's biography of 'Stonewall' Jackson (1898) is deservedly famous. His other pieces on the Civil War have appeared in print before, but are hard to lay hands on. We learn nothing startlingly fresh; that would be unlikely from essays half a century old. But we are put in contact with a clear, sympathetic military mind, speaking sense and speaking it in a workmanlike prose that is a relief after the vulgarity of some recent Civil War literature.

William M. Armstrong's E. L. GODKIN AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY 1865-1900 (New York: Bookman Associates. 1957. 268 pp. \$5) is a cool and just appraisal of the Irish-born Anglophile editor of the weekly *Nation* and of the daily New York *Evening Post*. While conservative in many matters and something of a Boston Brahmin, Godkin was also a prompt, and at times intemperate, spokesman for peace, reform, laissez-faire and liberal values. One of the founders of personal journalism, he was also one of the founders of muckraking.

The first European to describe Niagara Falls did so with the adjectives horrible, hideous, outrageous, dismal. The transition to the cult of nature was slow in America, as it was in Europe; but in due course came the desire

to preserve what had not already been spoiled. A railway journey, say from New York to Boston, will suggest that the resulting conservation movement was not premature. Its growth is carefully and interestingly traced by Hans Huth, Curator of Research at the Art Institute of Chicago, in *NATURE AND THE AMERICAN* (University of California Press: C.U.P. 1958. 250 pp. 56s. 6d.). The book is illustrated with 64 well-chosen plates.

A picturesque and well-documented account of William Lyon Mackenzie, the Canadian radical and leader of the abortive rebellion in Upper Canada in 1837, is provided by William Kilbourn in *THE FIREBRAND* (London: Cape. 1958. xv + 286 pp. 30s.).

Under the title of *REBELLION IN THE BACKLANDS*, an English translation by Samuel Putnam of Euclides de Cunha's *Os Sertões* was first published in 1944 and is now available in a cheap edition (University of Chicago Press, Phoenix Books: Cambridge University Press. xxi + 532 pp. 16s.). Its theme—the Canudos rebellion of 1896–7 in northern Bahia—is familiar to English readers through Cunninghame Graham's *A Brazilian Mystic*. But the book is a classic and its translator is not far wrong when he describes it as 'an epic treatise on the geology, the geography, the climatology, the flora, the fauna, and the human life of the Brazilian backlands'.

In his *LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY: A GUIDE TO THE LITERATURE IN ENGLISH* (London, published for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, by Oxford University Press. 1958. xiv + 197 pp. 25s.) Professor R. A. Humphreys provides a select and critical guide to writings in English on Latin American history, including the pre-conquest, colonial and national periods.

ASIA

THE STRONGHOLDS OF INDIA. By Sidney Toy. London: Heinemann. 1958. xvi + 136 pp. 44 plates. 30s.

Numerous medieval fortifications are still to be found in most parts of India and Pakistan, many of them in a good state of preservation. Hitherto, however, they have received little attention from architects or archæologists, and few have even been properly surveyed. Whether built by Hindu rulers or Muslim, they show many interesting features. In India defences with high vertical walls, reminiscent of those of the medieval European castle, were still being built in the middle of the eighteenth century, and the more modern type of fortification, with low walls designed to withstand heavy artillery, was only introduced by the Europeans. The impression of massive and forbidding strength, typical of the European castle or city wall, is softened in Indian fortification by decorative mouldings and other architectural ornament. A further characteristic feature is the use of long spikes, in some cases projecting over a foot, to prevent the battering of the wooden fortress gates by elephants.

As a first step towards a comprehensive study of the subject, Mr. Toy, an authority on ancient and medieval military architecture, describes 23 Indian

fortresses. The work is excellently illustrated with photographs and clear, well drawn plans and diagrams, all of which are the work of the author. In each chapter something is said about the history and traditions of the fortress treated, and even the non-specialist may read the book with pleasure and profit. Our only criticism is of the index, which is inadequate.

No reader who had not met Mr. Toy would guess that he is permanently hampered by injuries sustained in the First World War. The reviewer, remembering his own nightmarish climb through the dark and stuffy tunnels leading to the citadel of Daulatabad, 600 feet above the surrounding plain, would record his respect, not only for Mr. Toy's scholarship and technical skill, but also for his courage and stamina. It is to be hoped that he will continue his work until all the major fortresses of the Indian sub-continent are surveyed, and enough data are collected for a thorough comparative study.

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A. L. BASHAM

Dr. C. D. Sheldon's *THE RISE OF THE MERCHANT CLASS IN TOKUGAWA JAPAN 1600-1868. AN INTRODUCTORY SURVEY* (New York: J. J. Augustin. 1958. 206 pp. \$5) is a welcome addition to the literature on Japanese economic history available in Western languages, based as it is on the results of recent Japanese research. It begins with a brief survey of conditions in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Japan which made possible an increase in domestic commerce and hence the emergence of a new merchant class. It then describes the political and social status of the merchant in Tokugawa society, emphasizing the weakness of his position *vis-à-vis* the feudal rulers. This is followed by a rather more detailed analysis of the steps taken by merchants to increase their own security, which resulted in the formation of monopolistic trade associations under feudal patronage, and of methods of capital accumulation in the system so established. Later there are accounts of the new cultural aspects of city life in the period, as well as of economic thought. Much of the second half of the book, however, is concerned with the so-called 'Tokugawa deadlock': the undermining of the feudal system by the spread of a money economy, the increasing dependence of the feudal lords on the financial services of the merchant class, the failure of a rigid social and political order to adjust to the new distribution of wealth. There came eventually a challenge to the monopolies of the city commercial associations from new groups of provincial merchants. The whole process merges, in the nineteenth century, into the complex movement for the overthrow of the Tokugawa, which brought the emergence of new leadership in the name of an Imperial restoration.

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W. G. BEASLEY

The letters printed in Professor H. N. Sinha's *FORT WILLIAM-INDIA HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE*, vol. ii: 1757-59 (New Delhi: National Archives of India. 1957. lii + 512 pp. 29s. 6d.) are a selection from the correspondence of the Court of Directors in London with the Council and Select Committee at Fort William in Bengal. The period covered by these letters relates to the British conquest of Bengal and Clive's first governorship. Professor Sinha's introduction is a competent assessment of the historical material in this volume but it cannot be said that the letters contain any striking revelations

tending to overthrow accepted judgements. Clive's connection with Bengal has already been adequately covered by G. W. Forrest's *Lord Clive* (2 vols., 1918); H. H. Dodwell's *Dupleix and Clive* (1920); and N. K. Sinha's *Economic History of Bengal* (vol. i, 1956). The student should also consult the documents published in C. R. Wilson's *Old Fort William in Bengal* (vol. ii, 1906); and S. C. Hill's invaluable *Bengal in 1756-57* (3 vols., 1905).

Balliol College, Oxford

G. COLLIN DAVIES

TRADE AND FINANCE IN THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY (1793-1833). By A.

Tripathi. Calcutta: Orient Longmans. 1956. xiii + 289 pp. Rs. 20.

This book contains an extremely detailed account of the reasons which brought to an end the trading monopoly of the English East India Company. After showing how the Charter Renewal Act of 1793 was a compromise between the Company and the private traders the author proceeds to discuss Wellesley's attitude to private trade which appears to have been the real reason for his recall by the Directors. The military and political struggle for paramountcy in India at this time had its economic counterpart in the efforts of British traders backed by Henry Dundas, David Scott, and Wellesley to capture the Indian trade, of which foreigners had a much larger share than is generally known. Except for this clandestine trade through foreign European merchants, the Company preserved its monopoly until 1813, while the China trade remained a monopoly as late as 1833. The book is based on a careful examination of difficult manuscript sources. The author's task however has been lightened by the researches of Professor Holden Furber in his *John Company at Work* (1948) and by Professor C. H. Philip's *East India Company, 1784-1834* (1940) and his two-volumed edition of the *David Scott Correspondence* (1951). The governor-generalship of Lord Hastings (1813-23) comes in for much adverse criticism. Hastings is justly blamed for his proposal to extend the Permanent Settlement to the newly-conquered territories; for his approval of the *patnidari* system of land tenure in Bengal; and for his opium policy which was followed by a collapse of opium prices in 1823. Dr. Tripathi's condemnation of the part played by the governor-general and others in the bolstering up of the Palmer Company in Hyderabad is sound for, next to the Nabob of Arcot's debts, it was probably the greatest scandal in Anglo-Indian history. His strictures would have carried more weight if, in addition to the hostile accounts of Metcalfe and the Court of Proprietors, some attention had been paid to the published defence of Sir William Rumbold and Sir Henry Russell. Neither does he appear to be acquainted with the reviewer's *Preliminary Report on the Russell Correspondence relating to Hyderabad* recently published in the *Indian Archives*, from which it is apparent that the governor-general was more deeply involved even than Dr. Tripathi believes.

Dr. Tripathi's habit of expressing trade figures sometimes in sterling but for the most part in lakhs and crores of rupees will confuse English students. Some of his generalizations on political history are unfortunate, as for example where he contends that the Treaty of Tilsit increased the French menace to India whereas it was followed by a decline of French influence at Teheran, the departure of General Gardane and the arrival of Sir Harford Jones. For the most part Dr. Tripathi's book is an unbiased account except perhaps on the 'Drain' where he seems to fall over backwards in his efforts not to wound

English susceptibilities. No student of Indian history can afford to neglect this important contribution to the economic and financial history of Bengal between 1793 and 1833.

Balliol College, Oxford

G. COLLIN DAVIES

THE MAKING OF THE MEIJI CONSTITUTION—THE OLIGARCHS AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF JAPAN, 1868-1891. By George M.

Beckmann. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1957. vii + 158 pp. \$3.

GENESIS OF THE MEIJI GOVERNMENT IN JAPAN 1868-1871. By Robert A.

Wilson. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1957. 149 pp. \$3.

Until the last ten years or so there have been very few scholarly works in the English language dealing with one of the most interesting and important developments in modern history, namely the establishment and political evolution of the Meiji government in Japan. American scholars, however, are now turning over this somewhat neglected field, supplementing the pioneer work of such historians as W. W. McLaren and E. H. Norman. Dr. Beckmann's study, as its title implies, relates to the first twenty-odd years of the Meiji period. Dr. Wilson's monograph is focused on the first three. To some extent Dr. Beckmann tells a tale that is already known. But from Japanese sources he adds a few details to reinforce our recognition of the paramount influence exerted on the architects of the Meiji Constitution by Rudolph Gneist, Lorenz von Stein, and Hermann Roessler. He points out, for example, that the statement of the Emperor's powers in the Meiji Constitution is almost identical with the definition proposed in Roessler's draft. No wonder, then, that Japanese liberals (*Jiyuronsha*) called Ito a Bismarck. Whether or not things might have turned out differently if Okuma's ideas, rather than Ito's, had carried the day, it cannot be denied that the baleful influence of German political theory has much to answer for when we reflect upon the history of Japan in the twentieth century. It is no denigration of Dr. Beckmann's study to confess that its main value, to the specialist at any rate, lies in its Appendices, which include various Japanese documents hitherto not translated into English, such as Kido's draft constitution and the opinions of Okubo and others on the constitutional question.

Dr. Wilson relates in detail the various experiments in governmental structure made by the Japanese leaders in their extremely pragmatic approach to the two-fold problem of eliminating feudalism and centralizing administration. Dr. Wilson writes on the basis of sound, indeed authoritative, scholarship. His monograph, therefore, will be a standard work of reference that no library dealing with Japanese history can afford to omit from its shelves. On the matter of interpretation issue can be taken with Dr. Wilson perhaps in only one particular. In his opening chapter, discussing the fall of the Tokugawa, he refers to the 'almost pathological' bitterness with which Saigo Takamori, Okubo and others regarded the Tokugawa family. He does not offer much explanation for this bitterness. It was due, surely, to the strong, and not completely unjustified, suspicion that the shogunal government was hand in glove with Second Empire France and was guilty therefore of treason to the nation.

St. Antony's College, Oxford

RICHARD STORRY

GENERAL

CLASSICAL EDUCATION IN BRITAIN 1500-1900. By M. L. Clarke. Cambridge University Press. 1959. 234 pp. 32s. 6d.

'If you do not take more pains,' reasoned an Eton master in the 1840s, 'how can you ever expect to write good longs and shorts? If you do not write good longs and shorts, how can you ever be a man of taste? If you are not a man of taste, how can you ever be of use in the world?' And indeed the writing of Latin (and to a less extent Greek) verse composition figures prominently in the course of events which Professor Clarke here describes. As early as 1597 John Stockwood had revealed 450 ways of expressing the same sentiment in a single elegiac couplet, and 104 variant combinations of identical words in a single hexameter.

The *Edinburgh Review* denounced the Eton system in 1830, but already nearly two centuries earlier, not so long after Sir Simonds d'Ewes was composing 2850 verses during his Bury St. Edmunds schooldays, John Milton attacked the 'preposterous exaction' of 'forcing the empty wits of children to compose themes, verses and orations'. The ability to do so, ran the contrary argument, came in useful 'in occasions of triumph and rejoycing, more ordinarily at the funerals of some worthy personages'. Today the same practice, on a diminished scale, is still defensible on the rather different grounds that it is hard, if not impossible, to read Latin poems with much understanding of their musical and linguistic subtleties (which are an essential part of them) unless one has 'got inside' the metres by attempting these for oneself.

Perhaps the strangeness of Professor Clarke's story to modern readers lies partly in the persistent refusal, at many epochs, to accept the Renaissance view that one reads the classics for their substance ('the solid things in them', says Milton) as well as for their language, until nineteenth-century Oxford began to put literature, history and philosophy on the map again. However, Professor Clarke is right in doubting whether a sufficient knowledge of the literature and thought of antiquity can be obtained through translation—sufficient, that is, for even the most thoroughgoing enquirer. The reason he gives for these doubts is that exclusive reliance on translation would mean the end of that nineteenth-century training in verbal accuracy 'which we can ill afford to lose'. But I think a stronger argument still is that the ancient literatures contain so much that is excellent, indeed of incomparable beauty, *as literature*. If only enough people of English Literature leanings knew Latin, or enough Latin scholars understood modern literature, this assertion would be perfectly acceptable—with more than lip-service—according to æsthetic criteria recognized as valid today: i.e. not requiring adhesion to Aristotelian or Quintilianic (or sometimes to nineteenth-century Public School) canons.

That is the chief point which I would add to Professor Clarke's concluding chapter. He does not, unfortunately, feel able to continue his tale until 1959. Yet he deals with the modern situation to some extent, since, after indicating the withdrawal of the classical literatures from the centre of the field, he puts forward his own justification for their teaching today. Though a little too much on the defensive for some tastes, he includes most of the valid arguments except the æsthetic one. Indeed his omission of this is probably

deliberate, since all classical teachers feel it is a bit rough on a pupil to say too much about the beauty of a Greek or Latin work when he has not yet concluded the prolonged stage of battling with the sheer sense of it. And yet the excellence of the classics as literature—as poetry and prose—is, in the last resort, one of the two reasons why they are worth studying: the other being ‘the solid things in them’.

In classical teaching as in other matters, Dr. Thomas Arnold was a pioneer figure ahead of his time. While devoting much attention to the content of the ancient authors (and perhaps drawing from them more lessons for the modern world than would be usual even today), he came to appreciate profoundly the educative value of their languages: and he held that ‘every lesson in Greek and Latin may and ought to be made a lesson in English’—insisting that translations should be good English as well as accurate.

Enquiries about the proportionate elements of an ideal classical education are perennial, and, of course, of great significance to the historian, because of the dominant part they have played—at almost all times—in the culture of Western Europe. Professor Clarke introduces us to the earlier life of all the ingredients which are still present in varying and changing proportions in a classical education today. In the course of his survey he provides much curious and entertaining lore. We read, for example, that Colet, while sharing the customary toleration of Terence’s sexual amorality, saw fit to ‘abbanysh and exclude from St. Paul’s the ffylthynesse and all such abusyon which more ratheyr may callid blotterature thenne litterature’—whereas Dr. Arnold, with some distaste, introduced his Rugbeians to Aristophanes. We learn too that, at sixteenth-century Harrow, prescribed reading included Heliodorus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus; also, I regret to say, that the Humanity Class at Edinburgh in 1800 was a ‘scene of unchecked idleness and disrespectful mirth’. But it is only right to add that, in two good chapters, Professor Clarke does justice to the achievement of this and other Scottish Universities at more fruitful periods.

University of Edinburgh

MICHAEL GRANT

IN BARBARY LEGEND: WAR, TRADE AND PIRACY IN NORTH AFRICA, 1415–1830 (Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. 1957. 349 pp. 50s.), Sir Godfrey Fisher has tackled several important topics in the history of the Mediterranean, more particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He has evidently gone to great pains in compiling this book, though it is inadequately indexed, and he has honestly sought to separate truth from slander in a singularly involved subject. He has some useful points to make, and some interesting information to offer, for instance in his chapter on the growth of Algiers in the seventeenth century (headed ‘The city of Algiers in the time of Elizabeth I’). But while there is undoubtedly more than an element of truth in Sir Godfrey’s attack on the time-honoured legend of the Barbary Regencies as no more than ‘a nest of pirates’, not everyone is likely to follow him in whitewashing them so persistently. For instance, his account of slavery in the Barbary states as involving no ‘contempt of human dignity’ assorts ill with his subsequent disclosure of English youths being forced to turn Turk ‘through beating and hard usage’; nor is it easy to square his assertion that the lot of the Christian captive in Barbary was not ‘hopeless’ with his later remark that the Algiers government could no longer dispose of slaves or

other prize goods 'once they had passed into the possession of private individuals'. A deeper criticism of the book is concerned with Sir Godfrey's choice of topics for treatment. His original intention was to offer 'a short and simple outline of our relations with the Barbary States over about 250 years': with the further aid of port books and legal records (which he has not consulted) this could have been usefully accomplished, the economic connection more exactly revealed and the naval interest illuminated. What he has written is a more general survey, covering the same span of time, partly of Barbary history and partly of the political relations of the Algiers Regency with England—based chiefly on English and French printed materials, but using certain classes of the State Papers Foreign in the Public Record Office and one or two other but less important manuscript sources. This leaves him at a disadvantage in making pronouncements on the general attitude of the Regencies to the Christian powers of western Europe, since England and France had special ties with north Africa and from the later seventeenth century onwards were in the fortunate position of being able to command respect through their naval might. Had Sir Godfrey investigated the relationships for example of Hamburg and other north German cities (which he ignores) with the Algiers Regency, he might have found reason to modify his views. There is indeed, in the present state of Mediterranean studies, a great need of scholarly monographs on Barbary history. This book, though garbed in the august panoply of the Clarendon Press, does not meet it.

St. Edmund Hall, Oxford

G. D. RAMSAY

HISTORY OF THE BRITISH IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY FROM c. 450 B.C. TO A.D. 1775. By H. R. Schubert. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1958. xxi + 445 pp. 6os.

Dr. Schubert's book deals with the charcoal-smelting period of iron manufacture in Great Britain. It opens with the beginnings of ironworking here about 450 B.C., five hundred years or so after iron products were first made in Central Europe. It closes in 1775 when coke was replacing charcoal as a fuel, the steam engine the water-wheel as a source of power and the great expansion of iron production in Great Britain was about to begin.

As befits a volume sponsored by the Iron and Steel Institute, Dr. Schubert's primary concern is with the development of technique. Down to the end of the fifteenth century, the direct method of smelting iron with charcoal in bloomeries was used, and the single direction in which there was any change was the introduction of water-power to drive bellows or tilt-hammers. This source of power became more important from the sixteenth century onwards when the indirect method, the blast furnace, supplanted the bloomery. The cast iron, the product of the furnace, was then converted into malleable iron in the forge. Such modifications as occurred were the work of practical men without scientific knowledge, the development of ironworking in Great Britain being the more difficult because the ores available here were leaner, lower in iron content, than continental ores. Dr. Schubert's descriptions, particularly of the primary processes of ironworking, are admirably lucid and well-illustrated.

Two other aspects of the history of the industry which attract Dr. Schubert's attention are the location of the iron works and the uses to which iron and steel were put. In tables in the text, in maps and in appendices has been

gathered together a wealth of information about many of the works which flourished during the two thousand or so years covered by this book. Unfortunately the index is not full enough to make the study of the history of particular works easy.

The expanding uses of iron are splendidly illustrated in this volume. Used first for ornaments, iron fairly soon came to be employed for weapons and tools also. In the Middle Ages, the production of steel expanded to provide tips for arrows and iron was used in buildings. Most of such needs were met locally but there was some specialization, for example, in knives and church bells. With the changeover to the indirect process, cast iron was used for cannon, for decorative purposes such as firebacks, for industrial purposes and in agriculture. Even so the consumption of iron products throughout the charcoal era of iron manufacture remained small. We sometimes forget that whereas coal production has increased but twenty-fold since the third quarter of the eighteenth century, iron and steel production in Great Britain has increased a thousand-fold.

With other aspects of the history of the British iron and steel industry Dr. Schubert is less concerned, so that this volume falls short of the publisher's claim that it is a comprehensive history. Nevertheless it is to be welcomed warmly. As a result of twenty years' research into both published and manuscript sources, Dr. Schubert tells the story of the history of the British iron and steel industry during the charcoal period with a detail and authority not previously attained. May we hope that he will follow it with another which will fill the gaps left by his present volume?

University College of Swansea

W. E. MINCHINTON

ROMAN CATHOLICISM IN ENGLAND FROM THE REFORMATION TO 1950.

By E. I. Watkin. Home University Library. Oxford University Press.

1957. xii + 224 pp. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Watkin has written a book which is instructive, edifying, and enjoyable. He is judicious on the Reformation, and on the Tudors—the more so as to the Reformation, because he writes under the influence of the present phase of the continental Liturgical Movement. He is at his best on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—circumspect, even non-committal, on Gunpowder Plot, and deeply appreciative of the metaphysical poets. He makes the most of those literary figures who were or became Roman Catholics, and upholds the claim that Shakespeare died as one. He writes with that urbanity proper to a historian about the penal laws, and the relief act of 1829. A non-specialist may sometimes wish that in describing some earlier efforts at Emancipation he had more precisely stated their legal content. After Emancipation his narrative becomes annalistic. In his accounts of the mutual suspicions from the sixteenth century onwards of seculars and religious, of the disagreeable Bishop Milner (so unlike the delightful Challoner), of the Gallicanism long persistent amongst English and Irish Roman Catholics, of the troubles of Newman, and of the Modernist controversy, Mr. Watkin writes with judgement and balance. Although generally irenic, he evidently considers the Malines conversations insignificant for his story, and makes no reference to *Apostolicae Curæ*. It seems surprising that his bibliography does not include Thureau-Dangin's classic work *La Renaissance Catholique en Angleterre*.

Bedford College, London

R. W. GREAVES

A HISTORY OF PRICES AND WAGES IN DENMARK, 1660-1800, Vol. I, by A. Friis and K. Glamann (London: Longmans, for Institute of Economics and History, Copenhagen. 1958. xv + 351 pp. 50s.), is a well-produced addition to the price-histories of this period. It is based on principles established by the International Scientific Committee on Price History, and it makes a valuable contribution to background information available to students of the European economy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. An introduction outlines the only history of Danish currency of the period available in English. There follow tables of money conversion rates between Copenhagen and other principal Northern centres, and Copenhagen rates of exchange on London, Amsterdam and Hamburg. Also listed are silver prices and data for calculating silver equivalents. Danish weights and measures are explained, and commodity prices, based partly on the records of Assizes of Bread, Beer and Meat and partly on the market prices of Copenhagen, are clearly set out with the sources from which they are obtained. The mechanics of price regulation in Denmark are also described.

London School of Economics

Alice CARTER

Volume xxvii of the SURVEY OF LONDON, edited by F. H. W. Sheppard (London: Athlone Press, for the London County Council. 1957. xvii + 348 pp. 50s.), covers Spitalfields and Mile End New Town or, in terms of the fragmentation which was London's government, the two parishes of Christ Church and All Saints, and the two liberties, Norton Folgate and the Old Artillery Ground. From a semi-rural fringe of the city, notable chiefly for the priory of St. Mary Spital, the area was developed gradually in the late sixteenth century. By 1685 the pace had quickened. Already a centre for weaving, refugee Huguenots reinforced their compatriots there. Landowners with estates of no great size allowed small men to turn them into streets, where weavers predominated until the nineteenth century brought the collapse of that industry and the arrival first of the Irish, and then of East European Jews. Much of the volume is the record of the development of property. Spitalfields market, the building of Christ Church, and the making of the Eastern Counties railway all notably affected the life and lay-out of the district, whilst the construction of Commercial Street illustrates the complexities of all planning. If the priory remains a rather shadowy reconstruction, the unravelling of that development is admirable. The result is a storehouse of information clearly and interestingly set out. Though the only easily readable words on one key map (plate 5) are 'Brewery' and 'Grave Yard', good documentation and excellent illustrations enhance a well presented book.

University College, London

T. F. REDDAWAY

A HISTORICAL ATLAS OF CHESHIRE. Edited by Dorothy Sylvester and Geoffrey Nulty. Chester: Cheshire Community Council, 53 Watergate Row. 1958. 64 pp. 10s. 6d.

This extremely competent and well-produced volume is the result of some six years' work by a team of specialists drawn both from within the university world and from outside it. Each map is skilfully drawn and faced by a page of apt comment. Outstanding are Miss Sylvester's own contributions, parti-

cularly her description of Domesday Cheshire and her accounts of open fields in the county and of the change in the distribution of manor houses between Tudor and Georgian times. There are other contributions which deal with medieval religious houses, local government, population growth, communications and industrial development.

There is, perhaps, a tendency to assume that the reader knows his Cheshire before he opens the book. The scene is set interestingly enough, but the appropriate map could well include more of the places referred to. On one occasion the maps are more correct than the text: the Bollin is referred to as a tributary of the Weaver and shown as a tributary of the Mersey. The assertion that 'Cheshire remained agriculturally of only moderate importance until the Agrarian Revolution' is likely to cause some surprise and the apparent lack of interest in farming—and particularly in cheesemaking—some disappointment. The salt industry is given due notice but the account contains several errors which could have been avoided had the writers studied Dr. Willan's book on the Weaver Navigation. These, however, are minor criticisms of what is a major achievement in historical co-operation. The book deserves to be widely read not only in Cheshire but also—together with J. J. Bagley's *History of Lancashire with Maps and Pictures*—by all those people elsewhere who are looking for a promising approach to the study of local history.

London School of Economics

T. G. BARKER

REASON AND CHANCE IN SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERY. By R. Taton, translated by A. J. Pomerans. London: Hutchinson. 1957. 171 pp. 30s.

This is a translation from the French edition of 1955, in which M. Taton collected a number of episodes from the history of the sciences to illustrate various psychological and other factors in discovery and the problems of assigning priorities and of missed discoveries. Some of these episodes are well known, others not so well known, and all are presented interestingly and in a simple and non-technical style. The book is illustrated by several plates.

It is not easy, however, to see just what is accomplished by this sort of history of science, for none of the accounts can be developed in sufficient detail for the reader to feel that he thoroughly appreciates the situation in which the discoveries were made. This might be less important in a work for the general reader if Taton were using his examples to illustrate a thesis independently argued, but he explicitly repudiates this intention in his Preface. The book is marred by an inductivist view of scientific discovery such as one hoped had been banished from modern histories by more profound understanding both of the logic of science and of its conceptual inheritance and environment. If therefore my subsequent remarks are critical, it is in the conviction that Baconian presuppositions have bedevilled the history of science for too long, and ought not to go unchallenged.

That M. Taton is a convinced (though perhaps unconscious) Baconian is shown by his persistent references to the damaging effect of philosophical preconceptions upon scientific discovery, by his favourable report of Claude Bernard's insistence upon 'complete mental freedom when confronted by generally held theories', and by his pervasive assumption that 'facts' reveal themselves to the most empty mind and the most accurate instruments. Thus, the beginning of modern astronomy is dated from the day on which

Galileo set up his telescope in his garden at Padua. But this is to simplify past the point of distortion. It neglects even the fact that the attitude of Galileo himself to his observations was ambivalent: he uses them to argue against Aristotle, but he knows that theories do not arise from nor do they rest on grounds of experiment alone. Galileo is sure what will be the motion of falling bodies without performing the experiment; he points out the 'sublime intellect' which led Copernicus resolutely to affirm 'what sensible experience seemed to contradict' in respect of the orbit of Venus, and here Copernicus was right without benefit of the telescope; and he shows how even without a telescope observations could have been designed which would have confirmed Copernicus's assertion about Venus, though it is impossible to believe that these naked-eye observations could ever have been made unless they had been first suggested by Copernicus's theory. Again, Taton describes Ampère's failure to interpret an experiment which actually showed the effects of induced currents, and explains it by Ampère's obsession with different theoretical concerns, but the opposite and more fortunate effect which Faraday's theoretical preconceptions had upon his researches into the same phenomena is not mentioned. One more example of Taton's philosophy of history must suffice: he apologizes for Kepler's mysticism, and explains that 'fundamental errors were the basis of a great deal of progress during this time'. But when is it ever otherwise in the development of science? Were not Newton and Dalton in fundamental error, and is it not very likely that we are also? But we may hope to be spared the judgements of future inductivist historians.

On the whole the translation reads well. There is an unfortunate rendering of 'connaître' as 'understand' on p. 158, where Taton clearly means that in order to interpret a phenomenon correctly we must be able to *perceive* or *recognize* it, not *understand* it, for this would imply that before we can interpret a phenomenon we must have a theory about it, and this would be a denial of the view he maintains throughout.

University College, London

M. B. HESSE

THE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH (Oxford University Press. 1957. xix + 1492 pp. £3 10s.), edited by F. L. Cross, is a valuable work of reference for all historians. Particularly welcome are, first, the presence of so many short entries on the less obvious persons or topics, which are just those on which information is likely to be required, and secondly, the addition of brief bibliographies (according to the cover nearly 4500) to the articles.

Eight papers read at the second Irish Conference of Historians, held in July 1955, have been published in *HISTORICAL STUDIES: I* (London: Bowes and Bowes. 1958. 99 pp. 10s. 6d.), edited by Professor T. D. Williams. For the true historian, Professor Oakeshott writes in a fascinating introductory lecture, 'the detachment, the immobility, the deadness and the irrelevance of the past' are 'blessed virtue to be enjoyed'. The authors of the interesting papers which follow, ranging in subject from Anglo-Irish medieval history to the historiography of the Second World War, do not all quite manage to live up to this standard.

The correspondence of an eminent scholar like Fruin cannot be without interest and indeed the *CORRESPONDENTIE VAN ROBERT FRUIN 1845-1899* (H. J. Smit en W. J. Wieringa (eds.). Groningen: Werken Historisch Genootschap, 4e serie, no. 4. 1957) is not. It is however disappointing that even in his letters to his best friends this remarkable man and great historian discloses so little of his intimate feelings. The editors have done so splendid a job in collecting the letters and annotating them that it seems perhaps ungrateful to express one's surprise at some unnecessarily illiberal statements in their introduction.

To commemorate the centenary of the establishment of the Convocation of the University of London in 1858, the present Chairman of Convocation, Sir Percy Dunsheath, and Miss Margaret Miller have compiled *CONVOCATION IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON* (University of London: The Athlone Press. 1958. 204 pp. 15s.). This book will be of value to those who are interested in the development of the modern University.

The Mute Swan, *Cygnus Olor*, is the only bird of this species which breeds in this country. It has always been highly esteemed, and therefore carefully preserved, but has so far lacked its historian. Mr. Norman F. Ticehurst in *THE MUTE SWAN IN ENGLAND* (London: Cleaver-Hume Press. 1957. xiv + 134 pp. 31 plates. 35s.) goes a long way towards remedying this lack. For the middle ages the evidence is a little episodic (though the author should have been able to equate *de Bello Campo* with Beauchamp); from about 1500 on it is enthralling. Swans and their control were a source of privilege; swans and their marks may remind heralds of their own systems of differencing; swans and their vocabulary reveal more than one shortcoming in the great *Oxford English Dictionary* (e.g. *s.v.* Game or Swan-moot). Students and lovers of a most surprisingly wide range of subjects will find here something to their satisfaction; Mr. Ticehurst is to be congratulated accordingly.

THE ENGLISH LIBRARY BEFORE 1700, edited by Francis Wormald and C. E. Wright (London: Athlone Press. 1958. 273 pp. 35s.), contains eleven essays by ten writers who discuss not only the architectural arrangements of monastic, university, and college libraries, but also the production of manuscripts, the preservation of the classics, the contents of medieval libraries, the revival of Greek learning, the dispersal of the monastic libraries in the sixteenth century, and the formation of the Cottonian Library. They make a readable and informed book which can be recommended with confidence both to professed historians, who will find it helpful in their research, and to the more general reader who is interested in the history of culture.

CHARLECOTE AND THE LUCYS by Alice Fairfax-Lucy (O.U.P. 1958. 327 pp. 30s.) is an attractive chronicle of a Warwickshire family from the twelfth century to the nineteenth, written with sympathy and knowledge.

A HISTORY OF CHIPPING CAMDEN by Christopher Whitfield (Eton and Windsor: Shakespeare Head Press. 1958. 284 pp. 30s.) is an admirable local history, attractively written and illustrated, and scholarly.

CHESTER CATHEDRAL, by R. V. H. Burne (London: S.P.C.K. 1958. 273 pp. 21s.) tells the story of this Henrician foundation from 1541 to 1837. It is a careful account and draws heavily on the unpublished records of the Dean and Chapter, as well as on much printed and unprinted local material. There are nine photographs, two maps, and reproductions of the seal and counter-seal of the chapter. The book is well indexed.

The ATLAS OF WORLD HISTORY (New York: Rand McNally. 1957. 216 pp. \$5) has been edited by R. R. Palmer with an extensive historical commentary. It is suitable for use with an outline course of world history, but would be of only limited value in relation to more detailed courses. There are maps of such things as the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, which may be thought to stretch the resources of cartography.

The appearance of a second edition of the valuable HISTORISCHER ATLAS DER SCHWEIZ by Hektor Ammann and Karl Schib (Aarau: Sauerländer. 1958. 2nd ed. 67 maps. 22.50 fr. Sw.) is welcome. There are a number of minor technical improvements; the map of the Grisons has been re-drawn and there is a new map showing the distribution of Swiss industry in 1785. Is it not time that a comparable atlas for British history was produced?

The excellent HISTORICAL ATLAS OF WALES by Professor William Rees (reviewed in *History*, October 1954, xxxix. 316), originally published for the author, has been reissued by Faber and Faber (London. 1959. 71 pp. 70 plates. 22s. 6d.).

Among recent issues or re-issues in Everyman's Library of interest to historians, are John Locke's ESSAY CONCERNING HUMAN UNDERSTANDING (abridged), Disraeli's CONINGSBY, Machiavelli's PRINCE, Malthus' ESSAY ON THE PRINCIPLE OF POPULATION, Voltaire's AGE OF LOUIS XIV, THE PASTON LETTERS, St. Augustine's CITY OF GOD, Boswell's JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO THE HEBRIDES, Nietzsche's THUS SPAKE ZARATHUSTRA.

In DOCUMENTS OF MODERN POLITICAL THOUGHT (Cambridge University Press. 1957. 276 pp. 22s. 6d.) T. E. Utey and J. Stuart MacLure present a collection of texts and excerpts designed to give an outline of current developments in political thought. An interesting section is devoted to the efforts made by the Catholic Church to reconcile its traditions with recent economic and social developments, but this is a work which stimulates rather than satisfies.

Louis L. Snyder's DOCUMENTS OF GERMAN HISTORY (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1958. xxiii + 619 pp. \$10.00) range from Arminius' defeat of the Roman legions in A.D. 9 to the 1957 Western declaration on Berlin. Though weighted on the modern side, the selection will also be useful to sixth-formers and very junior undergraduates reading medieval and early modern German history.

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THE ORIGINS OF CHRISTIANITY IN RUSSIA¹

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THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY in Russia was an event of far-reaching importance. It marked an important stage in the development of feudal relations in Russia—the victory of the new feudal relations over the dying clan organization and heathen way of life. In Russia's cultural life the adoption of Christianity linked her to the traditions of Byzantium and of Hellenism, and to their remarkable heritage of literature and art.

Such were the momentous results of the introduction of Christianity into Russia—results which are immediately apparent to the historian. We know far less, however, about the process by which Christianity was established in Russia and about the exact time of its appearance, although a number of historical works have been devoted to the solution of these questions. Two of these, the studies in several volumes by Makary and Golubinsky, are especially noteworthy. But more than fifty years have elapsed since Golubinsky's work, the more recent of the two, was published, and many of his views are out-of-date and in need of revision. Other scholars who have concerned themselves with these problems include M. D. Priselkov, N. M. Nikolsky and S. V. Bakh-rushin. In recent years studies concerned with the history of Christianity in Russia have been confined to articles dealing with specialized aspects of this subject. Even the well-known works by B. D. Grekov on the history of Kievan Russia deal but briefly with the baptism of Russia in 989. It is true that several works, relating to the history of Christianity in Russia, have been published outside the U.S.S.R. One must, however, regretfully note that some of them are extremely tendentious (e.g. the works by Paszkiewicz, Stender-Petersen and Baumgarten) and are based on an almost total rejection of the Russian sources; though claiming to deal with the history of Russia, their authors reveal an inadequate knowledge of Russian church practice and of Russian literature. Hence, the contemporary student of the history of Christianity in Russia finds himself placed in less favourable conditions than those scholars who investigate other aspects of Russian history of the ninth and tenth centuries.

¹ The author and the editor of *History* wish to express their gratitude to Dr. and Mrs. Dmitri Obolensky for assistance in the translation of this article.

The official date of the establishment of Christianity in Russia is held to be the year 989, the date of 'the baptism of Russia' in the reign of Prince Vladimir Svyatoslavich. In fact, this date merely marks the most prominent event in the process of Russia's christianization: the recognition of Christianity as the official religion of Kievan Russia. But this recognition was preceded by a long period during which Christianity gradually penetrated into Russia: for the spread of religious beliefs is a far lengthier process than the acceptance of a given faith as the official religion of a country. On the other hand, the conversion of 989 did not mark the final triumph of Christianity in Russia: it was a long time before Christianity overcame paganism. It was more than a century before Christianity was truly established in early Russia.

Three different versions of the beginnings of Christianity in Russia are found in the early Russian written sources. In one of them Christianity was brought to Russia by St. Andrew, the Apostle, when he was preaching in Scythia. He planted a cross on the Kiev hills and prophesied that here a great city would arise and 'the grace of God will shine forth'. The second version associated Russian Christianity with St. Paul and with his disciple, Andronicus, whose see was later occupied by Bishop Methodius. In this manner, the appearance of Christianity in Russia was related to the activity of Cyril and Methodius, 'the apostles of the Slavs'. According to the third version, the source of Russian Christianity was Byzantium. This version was later officially adopted by Russian church circles.

The picturesque legend of St. Andrew, which flattered the vanity of the Kievans, clearly arose in Kiev. It was based on the belief that the apostles preached the Gospel throughout the world ('and the tidings went out to the ends of the earth'). The problem of the preaching of Christianity in Scythia is obviously outside the scope of the present paper. It is more difficult to choose between the second (the Moravian) and the third (the Byzantine) versions. It would be wrong to attempt such a choice on the basis of the fragmentary evidence that is available. The problem, it seems to me, could be resolved more easily by studying it within a wider context: we should first briefly survey the position of the east Slavonic tribes in the ninth and tenth centuries in relation to the Christian nations of that period.

Russian written sources assume in the main that Christianity first spread to the southern parts of Russia and that the northern and eastern areas of the country long remained pagan. This tradition is based on fact. The tribes of the Slovene and Krivichi, who lived in the regions which were later to become the Novgorod, Polotsk, Smolensk and Rostov-Suzdal' lands, were separated from Western Europe by extensive territories inhabited by western Slavs and the Baltic and Lithuanian peoples. The Scandinavian peoples, with whom the northern Russian tribes maintained lively contact, were not yet Christian at the time; the process of christianization in Sweden and Norway was somewhat

slower than the christianization of the Kievan land. At the time the *Russkaya Pravda* was compiled—i.e. as late as the ninth century—the Varangians were considered in Russia to be pagans ('the Varangian has not been baptized'). The conversion of the Novgorod people to Christianity only took place after Christianity had been firmly established in the south of Russia.

The west Russian tribes, whose lands bordered on Poland, Bohemia and Hungary, were more favourably placed. However, it must be remembered that Poland was converted to Christianity only in the second half of the tenth century. Hence, Christianity could not spread directly from Poland or from the more remote Bohemia before that time. On the other hand, it is very difficult, in view of its geographical remoteness, to believe that the mission of Cyril and Methodius could have had a direct influence on early Russia, though this mission was highly esteemed by the early Russian writers.

Nearest to the Christian lands were those Slav tribes who inhabited the Black Sea region. The Byzantine possession nearest to Russia was the Crimean peninsula with its ancient city of Chersonesus (Korsun' in Russian). Archæology has proved the existence of a considerable Slav element in Chersonesus as early as the tenth century. The text of the treaties concluded between the Russians and the Greeks in that century testifies to the unflagging interest of the Kiev princes in the 'Korsun' land'. These treaties defined the right of the citizens of Chersonesus-Korsun' to fish in the Dnieper estuary. They also prohibited the Russians from wintering in Beloberezh'e which lay near the Dnieper estuary. At this point the lands of the Slavs bordered on the possessions of the Byzantine Empire. The presence of the Slavs in the Crimea (the Tauric peninsula) explains why the Russians were called 'Tauro-Scythians' by Byzantine writers. The veneration of 'Korsun' icons and crosses, which were possibly manufactured in the workshops of Chersonesus, was widespread in Russia, and the Chersonesus saint, Pope Clement, was also highly revered in Russia.

Moreover, there is evidence of a considerable Slav element on the Taman' peninsula, where there existed in the eleventh century an independent Russian principality of Tmutarakan'. Byzantine possessions in the Crimea were the nearest regions to Kievan Russia from which the first Christian missionaries to the East Slavonic tribes could come. It must be remembered that in the ninth and tenth centuries two Slav tribes, the Ulichy or Uglichi and the Tivertsy, lived in areas immediately adjacent to the Black Sea. However conflicting is the evidence concerning these tribes, it is possible to assert—if we believe the Novgorod chronicle, which has in this case preserved a more primitive text than the Russian Primary Chronicle—that the Ulichy originally lived along the lower Dnieper ('and the Uglichi lived on the lower Dnieper'). This evidence is all the more valuable as it relates to the middle of the tenth century.

The Chronicle states that another Slav tribe, the Tivertsi, lived along the Dniester as far as the sea and were adjacent to the Danube. The Chronicle calls the Tivertsi *tolkoviny*. This word has been explained in different ways, but most probably it means translators or interpreters. In the present instance, it would mean people who knew a foreign, non-Russian, language, and in particular, Greek. The Tivertsi settlements bordered on Bulgaria. The sea route from Russia to Bulgaria followed the coastline of the Black Sea. This was the route followed by the Russians in their campaigns against Constantinople, as described in the Chronicle accounts of the campaigns of 943 and 1043; it is described in detail by Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

The information we have on the first conversion of Russia in the middle of the ninth century refers to the Southern branch of the Eastern Slavs. This event is connected with the attack of the Russians against Constantinople, which the Chronicle dates to 866, and latest research to 860. The circumstances of Russia's first conversion are discussed at length in M. V. Levchenko's book on Russo-Byzantine relations. The problem of what part of Russia was converted to Christianity in the ninth century remains a debatable one, but the fact of Russia's conversion in this period is beyond doubt, as it is mentioned in the letters of the Patriarch Photius who took an active part in these events. He writes of the unsuccessful attack of the 'godless' (pagan) *Rus* on Constantinople and of the subsequent adoption of Christianity by the Russians. This event is described—with some legendary accretions—by the Byzantine writers, Scylitzes and Cedrenus. The sixteenth-century Nikon Chronicle also contains an account of Russia's conversion at the time of Askold and Dir. The story of the baptism of the Russians and of their prince Bravlin (Branliv, etc.) is likewise told in the *Vita* of Stephen of Surozh (Surozh-Sudak in the Crimea), which is extant in a Russian translation. The contents of this document are far from clear, but the view that this *Vita* is not authentic and was invented by a Russian author in the fifteenth century is highly improbable, since forged lives of saints do not exist in early Russian literature, and the details which we find in the *Vita* of Stephen reflect the situation in the ninth century and could not have been invented in the fifteenth.

Some scholars hold that the 'Godless *Rus*' , who were baptized at the time of Photius, were the Russians of Kiev. They point out, in particular, that a church was built over the grave of Askold; however, the earliest chronicles say nothing about Askold and Dir having been Christians. The question as to what part of Russia was baptized at the time of Photius remains an open one. But in any case these early Russian Christians should be sought in the lands which bordered on the Black Sea and the Byzantine Empire. It may reasonably be surmised that the first Christian communities in Russia appeared in the second half of the ninth century.

The conversion of Russia at the time of the Patriarch Photius has left

significant traces in the tradition of the Russian church. As early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries it was believed that Christianity was established in Russia in the ninth century, at the time of Photius. This is the reason for the strange anachronism we find in several sources of that time which make Prince Vladimir, who baptized the Russian people in 989, the contemporary of Photius. We read in some chronicles that 'Vladimir was baptized and obtained the first Metropolitan of Kiev from Photius, the Patriarch of Constantinople'. As early as the twelfth century, the church Statute of Prince Vsevolod describes the Patriarch Photius as the apostle of Christianity in Russia.

It is not yet possible to determine the exact geographical location of these 'godless *Rus*' who attacked Constantinople in 860 and were subsequently converted to Christianity: they could have come from the Crimea, or from the lands bordering on the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea, or from Kievan Russia. One must note, however, that in the Byzantine view these Russians lived near the Tauric peninsula (the Crimea) and were known as Scythians. Moreover, the compiler of the Primary Chronicle concluded his enumeration of the peoples and tribes assembled by Prince Oleg at the beginning of the tenth century for his campaign against Constantinople with the remark that 'they were called Great Scythia by the Greeks'.

The beginnings of Christianity in Russia, therefore, go back to the second half of the ninth century, and we may suppose that the new religion maintained itself in some degree among the Slav population of the Crimea and of southern Russia, and possibly in the Kiev land as well. In any case there was already an organized Christian community in Kiev in the middle of the tenth century. The treaty concluded in 944 between Igor, Prince of Kiev, and the Byzantine Emperors shows that the two religions co-existed in Kiev: the 'Christian' and the 'unbaptized' *Rus* lived side by side. The pagan Russians swore to carry out the terms of the agreement on the hill before the idol of their god Perun, whereas the Christians took their oath in the church of St. Elias. The Chronicle adds that this church was a cathedral ('for this was a cathedral church'). This remark is helpful in assessing the time when the account of the treaty of 944 was introduced into the Chronicle. The chronicler was writing after the establishment of Christianity in Kiev. He mentioned, with reference to the past, the hill on which stood the idol of Perun, and with reference to the present time, the church of St. Elias ('which is'), which was formerly a cathedral. Therefore, at the time when the Chronicle entry was written the cathedral was another church—probably the church of the Tithe, which was consecrated in 996. Thus, the reference to the church of St. Elias was written after that date, but probably not very long after, at the time when it was still clearly remembered that the church of St. Elias had once been a cathedral.

The church of St. Elias stood 'above the stream, at the end of the *Pasinka Beseda*'. *Pasinki* was the name given in Kievan Russia to the

prince's retainers; *beseda* was a small building, a place for conversations. Thus, we may infer that the cathedral church stood near the prince's palace and the houses of his retainers, and this partly explains why the princes were tolerant of the Christian religion. The chronicler adds that 'many of the Varangians were Christians'. However, the inference which is sometimes drawn from these words that the Varangian retainers were, in a sense, the pioneers of Christianity in Russia has no foundation in the sources. Most of the prince's retainers remained pagan: this is shown by the fact that Igor and his 'men' took the oath in a pagan manner ('Igor and those of his men that were pagan swore the oath').

The dedication of the cathedral church of Kiev in the tenth century to the prophet Elijah also affords us a glimpse of the struggle between Christianity and paganism. The Christian church in Russia replaced pagan gods by corresponding saints, to whom were given certain pagan characteristics. Thus, the prophet Elijah, who is invariably depicted on icons riding in the sky on a chariot of fire, was naturally destined to replace Perun the Thundermaker. Churches dedicated to Elijah were found in nearly all early Russian cities. In the same way the pagan god Veles was combined with St. Blasius, who like his pagan forerunner was considered to be the protector of cattle; in the fourteenth century St. Blasius was represented on Novgorod icons surrounded by cattle.

By 944 Christianity had become, if not the dominant, at least a tolerated religion in Kiev. But it had appeared there earlier. For instance, the Chronicle, having described Oleg's treaties with the Emperors, adds that the Russian envoys were shown Christian relics in the Byzantine capital and the Byzantines tried to instruct them in their own faith ('teaching them their own faith'). If this is only legend, it is a significant one, illustrating as it does a ceaseless effort of the Greek church to convert the Russians to Christianity.

The evidence supplied by the treaty of 944 concerning the Christians in Kiev is all the more valuable as this treaty is an official document of undoubted authenticity. The Polish scholar Mikucki has recently demonstrated that the treaty conforms to the Byzantine diplomatic practice of the tenth century.

Christianity gained a firmer foothold in Russia when princess Olga became the regent of the realm after Igor's death. According to the Chronicle, Olga became a Christian in Constantinople, but some scholars believe that she was already a Christian at the time of her visit to the Byzantine capital. In Golubinsky's opinion, Olga became a Christian *c.* 954, and visited Constantinople in 957. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in describing the ceremonial reception of Olga and her suite, observed that she was accompanied by a priest. According to the Chronicle, she kept a private chaplain, and it was he who buried her. These facts are important, for they help us to understand the manner in which the Christian church was organized in Russia. It would

seem that no bishopric yet existed in Russia at the time, and the question of its establishment may have been the reason for Olga's visit to Constantinople.

By now, the establishment of a permanent ecclesiastical organization in Russia, headed by a bishop, had become urgent. This, no doubt, explains the appeal of Olga (Helen) to the German Emperor Otto I, an event recorded in German chronicles. At the princess's request, bishop Adalbert was sent to Russia in 961; however, he was expelled by the pagans. This embassy to Otto I may well have been the result of disagreements between the Russian princes and the Byzantine Emperors. The Chronicle hints that such disagreements existed, in its reference to Olga's ironical reply to the request of the Byzantine Emperor to send him slaves, wax and honey, and also soldiers 'as an aid'. Olga's appeal to the German Emperor coincides in time with the Christianization of Poland and the growth of closer ties between Poland and Bohemia. The same period, in all probability, marks the beginning of relations between Russia and Bohemia, whose result was the appearance in Russia of legends concerning Ludmila, Wenceslas and other Czech saints. At that very time Slavonic literature, created by Cyril and Methodius, began to exert an influence upon Christian Russia.

Olga's reign may be regarded as the time when Christianity was finally consolidated in Russia. The young prince Svyatoslav, the son of Igor and Olga, though he mocked those who became Christian, according to Chronicle did not prohibit the teaching of Christianity or forbid his subjects to be baptized. In reply to his mother's pleadings that he should embrace the new religion, Svyatoslav said that his retinue would laugh at him if he became Christian; this reference to the retinue is very significant, as it reveals the milieu which resisted the acceptance of Christianity. Contemporary Russian writers rightly regarded Olga as the precursor of Vladimir, who baptized the Russian land. She was—in the words of her medieval panegyric—'the precursor in the Russian land, as a light that portends the appearance of the sun and the dawn that ushers in a new day'.

What were the rites and the organization of the Russian church at this first stage of its history, in the second half of the tenth century? Unfortunately, any reply to this question must perforce be hypothetical. Christian ritual is indissolubly connected with a written language, since the liturgy of the Christian church cannot be celebrated without church books, e.g. the book of the Epistles or the Gospel. What, then, was the language of these books? It has been suggested that they were written in Greek. But there is no evidence to prove that the first Christians of Kiev had any reason to reject the liturgy in their vernacular language which was in common use at the time. Such a suggestion is all the more unfounded since in the tenth century Russia strengthened her ties with Bulgaria, a country where Slavonic letters were already flourishing. The only extant Russian literary monument of the tenth

century—an inscription on a jar, discovered in Gnezdovo near Smolensk and dated c. 900–950, is written in Cyrillic characters and resembles the monuments of Bulgarian epigraphy of the same period. The Russian Chronicle contains several entries of Bulgarian origin, and in the earliest calendars of the Russian saints we find not only Greek saints, but also Paraskevi-Pyatnitsa and St. John of Rila, who were venerated in Bulgaria. Many manuscripts of Bulgarian origin have been discovered in Russia, including the magnificent Collections (the *Izbornik* of 1073 and the *Zlatostrui*) compiled in the reign of the Bulgarian Tsar Symeon in the first half of the tenth century. Most of the authorities on early Russian literature are convinced that Bulgarian literature was brought to Russia, and there is every reason to suppose that the ritual of the Russian church in the tenth century was based on Bulgarian writings. There is no evidence that any other literary tradition existed in the practice of the Russian church at that time.

Less than twenty years elapsed between the death of Svyatoslav and the conversion of Russia in the reign of Vladimir. The death of Svyatoslav was followed by ceaseless conflicts between his sons, Yaropolk, Oleg and Vladimir. The victory fell to Vladimir, who relied on the Varangians whom he brought from Scandinavia, ‘from beyond the sea’, and who celebrated his victory by officially establishing the pagan cult in Kiev. The idols of Perun and other gods were erected on a hill; Perun had a silver head and a golden moustache. This setting up of a pagan sanctuary in Kiev was accompanied by pagan sacrifices. The victims were two Varangians, father and son; the father, as the chronicler emphasizes, had come from Greece. This picture of the triumph of paganism in Kiev resembles in a general way the pagan reaction in Bulgaria in the middle of the ninth century. Its instigators in Russia were Vladimir and his retinue from the north, which consisted in the main of Varangians. Against whom were this pagan reaction and this heathen sanctuary, so pointedly erected on a hill, directed? It was clearly intended as a response to the resistance shown to Vladimir by his brother Yaropolk. There are two pieces of information which shed some light on the attitude to Christianity of Yaropolk and the third brother, Oleg. Yaropolk was married to a Greek nun, whom Svyatoslav had captured in Bulgaria and given to his son for a wife. It is significant that the chronicler calls this nun the wife of Yaropolk, and not his concubine, whereas in referring to the parentage of Vladimir himself, the son of Svyatoslav and his servant, the slave Malusha, he stresses the prince’s servile origin. Thus, the wife of Yaropolk was a Christian. Although the chronicler gives us no direct information about Yaropolk’s attitude to Christianity, he records that in 1044 the ‘bones’ of Yaropolk and Oleg were exhumed, baptized and then reburied in the Church of the Tithe. This action will become more comprehensible if we suppose that both these princes were regarded as having been potential Christians, who did not have time to receive baptism.

Vladimir, then, assumed power in Kiev in 988 as a pagan, but only nine years later he embraced the Christian faith. So rapid a transition from paganism to Christianity can best be explained by assuming that Vladimir found in Kiev an environment closely connected with Christianity. His change of religion is also clearly connected with the fact that he succeeded by a trick in sending away from Kiev the Varangians who had come with him from the north and who were demanding a ransom from Kiev, as from a captured city. This fact in itself refutes the theory put forward by Baumgarten that the Varangian leaders advised Vladimir to adopt Christianity. On the contrary, the Varangians supported paganism, and it was only after their departure that Vladimir turned to Christianity.

The chronicle account of subsequent events which led to the baptism of Russia in 989 has been greatly confused by the so-called 'Korsun' legend'. This legend has proved so long-lived that to the present day the story of Russia's conversion is invariably connected with Vladimir's campaign against Korsun'. In fact, this campaign was merely another stage in Vladimir's aggressive policy in the early years of his reign. In 981 Vladimir captured the Polish towns of Przemyśl and Czerwień. In the same year he conquered the Vyatichi and then the Yatvingians and the Radimichi. In 985 Vladimir undertook a campaign against the Volga Bulgars. The year 988 saw the beginning of his campaign against Korsun', where Vladimir was allegedly baptized. And yet the chronicler himself mentions the existence of other accounts of Vladimir's baptism—other versions, according to which he was baptized in Kiev or in Vasiliev. Each of these two versions is inherently no less probable than the Korsun' legend. The story of Vladimir's baptism in Vasiliev finds, in particular, some corroboration in the very name of this town, i.e. the town of Vasily (Basil)—Basil being Vladimir's own Christian name.

The Chronicle further tells of Vladimir's hesitations when confronted with a choice of different religions: Islam, Judaism or Christianity; this story, however, merely reflects the religious controversies prevalent in Russia in the tenth and the eleventh centuries. It is true that there exists an account of Marwazi, which has been published by Professor Zakhoder, of the baptism of Russia and of Vladimir's mission to the Khorezm-Shah with a request to instruct the Russians 'in the laws of Islam'. But this is in the main a mere literary reflection of Russia's relations with the Khorezm in Central Asia. It is highly improbable that the Russians appealed to Khorezm for Islamic missionaries, since we have no evidence of any Moslem propaganda in Russia. Besides, Christianity of the Greek rite had long been established in Russia and the choice of a religion was not dependent on the sole will of the prince.

The story of Vladimir's campaign against Korsun', and of the Kievans' conversion to Christianity is well known. A crowd of many thousands of Kievans, ordered by the prince to assemble by the Dnieper,

were baptized in a single mass ceremony. The people stood in the river while the priests recited prayers. Such a baptism *en masse* made it impossible for the neophytes to be deeply instructed in the new faith, and the chronicler records that some of the pagans ('infidel people') wept at the destruction of the idol of Perun which was cast into the Dnieper.

This picturesque story of the baptism of the Kievans in the Dnieper is often regarded as the true conclusion of the history of the establishment of Christianity in Russia in 989. The spread of Christianity in other regions of Russia is described almost as a triumphal procession. In reality, however, Christianity remained for long the religion of the upper layers of society, and met with fierce opposition. In Novgorod pagan sanctuaries were destroyed by the *posadnik* Dobrynya, but the pagan beliefs were so vigorous that as late as 1071 the pagan priests or 'magicians' won over to their side nearly all the citizens, who abandoned their bishop and their prince.

Even greater obstacles were encountered by Christian missionaries in the Rostov-Suzdal' land. Later accounts concerning the first bishops of the Rostov-Suzdal' land, Isaiah and Leontius, describe a fierce resistance of paganism to Christianity, of which Leontius was the victim. The *Vita* of Avraamy, archimandrite of the Bogoyavlensky monastery in Rostov, mentions the worship of the idol of Veles in the 'Chudsky district' in Rostov. Golubinsky was at great pains to prove the late origin of the *Vita* of Avraamy; although it contains a reference to prince Boris who died in 1015, he realized the impossibility of dating the *Vita* of Avraamy to so early a period. But Golubinsky was unaware of the existence of another version of Avraamy's *Vita*, in which he is described as the contemporary of the princes Boris and Yaroslav and of the Grand Prince Vladimir. Now, the princes Yaroslav and Boris Svyatoslavichi lived in fact at the beginning of the twelfth century in the reign of the Grand Prince Vladimir Monomakh; and while the author of the later *Vita* could not have invented the names of the two obscure princes, Yaroslav and Boris, it was easy to mistake their identity and to confuse the second with St. Boris, the famous prince who died in 1015. Further indication of the strength of paganism in the Rostov-Suzdal' area is provided by the revolt of the 'magicians' in 1071; an earlier revolt of heathen priests took place in the same region in 1024.

In the Murom area Christianity was established later still. Ancient tradition tells of a terrible battle fought by the city walls of the pagans ('infidel people') against prince Constantine Svyatoslavich, who ruled at the end of the eleventh or at the beginning of the twelfth century. The Vyatichi were converted to Christianity later still. In this case too the conversion of the heathens was marked by martyrdom (of the monk Kuksha). Archæological excavations in the land of the Vyatichi have proved that as late as the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries the Vyatichi preserved pagan burial customs, and that even in the four-

teenth century pagan rites were observed in the immediate vicinity of Moscow, a city which was then the metropolitan see of Russia. These rites persisted in Russia for many years to come, and the Russian of today, when he celebrates the *Maslenitsa*, does not even suspect that he is observing the ancient Slav rite of bidding farewell to winter.

The religious beliefs of the Russian, the Ukrainian and the Byelorussian peoples, all of whom are descended from the same old Russian ethnic stock, were marked for many years by a 'dual faith'—a combination of Christian beliefs and rites with pagan ones. The veneration of the *rod*¹ and the *rozhanitsa*,² secret prayers in barns, sacrifices to the gods, invocations and fortune telling by heathen magicians—all these became objects of the Church's denunciation. The 'dual faith' maintained itself with great persistence among the peasants, while the upper, feudal layers of society accepted the Christian outlook and Christian rites, which, however, were often only formally observed.

The acceptance of Christianity as the official religion in Russia had important consequences. The first of these was the establishment of a permanent ecclesiastical organization. Unfortunately, the Primary Chronicle, for reasons which remain obscure, is silent on the establishment of the metropolitan see in Russia. It confines itself to the impersonal statement: 'He began to found churches and to appoint priests in the cities and to bring the people to baptism in all towns and villages'. It is hence not clear who was the first Russian metropolitan. In the Novgorod Chronicle he is called Leontius, but a separate account of the baptism of Russia gives him the name of Michael.

The silence of the Chronicle on the first Russian metropolitan is due, it seems, to certain disagreements between the Byzantine and the newly founded Russian church. Leaving aside the complicated question of the Russian metropolitans at the time of Vladimir, I would merely point out that there was certainly a bishopric in Russia in this period, since the Chronicle refers to a consultation of the prince with his bishops. On the other hand, there is evidence that Vladimir introduced special legislation governing the Russian church at its origin; this is evident in the fact that the Church of the Tithe, built in 996, was granted the tithe, which is defined in some manuscripts as the 'tenth *veksha* (*belka*, a monetary unit) from every lawsuit brought before the prince, the proceeds from the market of every tenth Sunday, and the tenth part of the tribute'. The collection of the tithe was entrusted to Anastasius of Korsun' whom the Chronicle terms a priest.

In the general list of Byzantine bishoprics the Russian metropolitan see occupied a humble place. The Russian Metropolitans were appointed by the Patriarch of Constantinople and, for the most part, were Greeks. The appointment as Metropolitan of Hilarian, a Russian by origin,

¹ A spirit associated with the process of birth [translator's note].

² A spirit which was held to assist women in labour and to influence the destiny of the newly born child [translator's note].

is specially noted in the Chronicle. Attempts to renounce the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople over the Russian church, which led to the appointment in the twelfth century of the Metropolitan Clement Smolyatich, failed and were condemned by the Russian bishops. The desire to maintain a dependence on a remote and foreign ecclesiastical superior was manifest not only in Russia, but in other medieval countries as well. It agreed with the efforts of the clergy to preserve its privileged position and the special judicial powers belonging to the supreme hierarch. Constantinople had for the Russian church the same significance as Rome had for the Catholic nations of Europe. Subordination to the Patriarch of Constantinople and the appointment of Greek bishops to Russia led to a constant connection between the Russian church and the patriarchate of Constantinople; this link proved to be a very strong one, and in consequence, the Russian church gave firm support to the Byzantine church in its struggle with Roman Catholicism. That is why, in the Chronicle account of the conversion of Russia in 989, attacks against the Catholic church were already inserted. The Catholic church was accused of distorting the true faith, her priests of marrying, some of them for the seventh time. According to Makary, such an accusation could only have been levelled against the Catholics before the reforms of Pope Gregory VII, i.e. before the middle of the eleventh century.

Greek writings, transmitted through the intermediary of Bulgarian literature, became the foundation of the ritual of the Russian church. However, as early as the eleventh century, many translations were made directly from Greek into Russian. This work of translation developed especially in the reign of Yaroslav the Wise. He assembled many scribes and caused translations to be made from Greek into Slavonic. The number of books of Greek origin that found their way into the ecclesiastical literature of Russia is indeed striking. They include lives of saints, and works of the Fathers of the early centuries of Christianity, of Basil the Great, of Gregory Nazianzen, of John Chrysostom. Works of a philosophical and monastic nature had wide currency: various *paterica*, lives of saints, the sermons of Isaac the Syrian, etc. Unfortunately, the translated ecclesiastical literature of Russia has been inadequately studied. Even less has it been studied in relation to its principal source, Greek literature, and interesting discoveries are possible in this field, once one is free of the obsessive idea that the Russian translations are of secondary importance compared to the Greek originals, notably in those cases where the Greek originals are not extant. We possess works of the original Russian ecclesiastical literature of the eleventh century, which have likewise been inadequately studied. A large number of homilies and sermons of Russian origin, composed in this early period, are still in manuscript. Among the important works of this literature are the writings of Cyril of Turov with their remarkable poetic imagery.

At the end of the tenth century, ecclesiastical art, which rapidly

acquired distinctive national features, began to develop in Russia. Architecturally, the Russian churches of the first centuries after the conversion resemble Byzantine buildings, but it would be rash to infer from this that Russian art was derivative. One might just as well reproach the art of many countries of Western Europe with lack of independence, since, for instance, the Romanesque style is not the prerogative of any single country. In the realm of art Russia belonged to the wider field of Byzantine, or, to use words on a deeper level, Hellenistic art; it preserved many remarkable traditions of this great art, which is characteristic of the countries bordering on the Eastern Mediterranean and on the Black Sea.

Russia's acceptance of Christianity according to the Greek rite linked the Russian church with the Orthodox East. It was when the Byzantine Empire and the countries of Near East were absorbed in the Turkish Empire, that the Russian church evolved an independent organization: it became an autocephaleous metropolitanate, and later a patriarchate.

HENRY IV AND THE PERCIES

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WHEN HENRY OF LANCASTER landed in Yorkshire in July 1399, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and his son Hotspur were the first among the magnates who flocked to his assistance. But four years later they fought against him in the most serious rebellion of his reign. The historian of this period must choose between two greatly differing interpretations of the Percies' conduct. On the one hand, there is the view that they assisted Lancaster to seize the throne, but later grew dissatisfied with his treatment of them, and, in their anger and disappointment, rose in rebellion.¹ On the other hand, there is the story they told to justify their rebellion: in 1399 they had intended only to assist Lancaster to regain his own inheritance and that of his wife; and he secured the throne in spite of considerable opposition from the Percies, who urged the claims of the house of Mortimer in the person of the boy Earl of March, the nephew of Hotspur's wife. If we accept this version of the events of 1399, the rebellion of 1403 was, in part at least, the long-term result of the Percies' defeat over the succession in 1399. In recent years their story has received considerable attention from historians who have studied the constitutional aspects of the revolution of 1399.² But no systematic attempt has yet been made³ to investigate its truth and present a coherent explanation of the policies of the house of Percy in the years 1399-1403.

i

The fourteenth century witnessed a remarkable expansion in the territorial power of the Percies.⁴ Round about 1300 nearly all their estates lay in Yorkshire, where they were amongst the chief landowners. By 1399 they had acquired the leading territorial positions in both Northumberland and Cumberland. This expansion occurred in two

¹ E.g. J. H. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York* 1892, i, p. 57. This appears also to have been the view of J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV*, i, 1884, though nowhere specifically stated.

² It is accepted by B. Wilkinson, 'The Deposition of Richard II and the Accession of Henry IV', *English Historical Review*, liv (1939), 217-20. It is discussed by G. T. Lapsley, *Crown, Community and Parliament in the Later Middle Ages*, 1951, pp. 295-7 (article reprinted from *EHR*, xliii (1934)), who, however, remarks that 'the historical truth of the facts so alleged need not be discussed here'.

³ The family historian accepts the Percies' story (E. B. de Fonblanque, *Annals of the House of Percy*, 1887, i, 177-8, 182, 188-91).

⁴ For full details see J. M. W. Bean, *The Estates of the Percy Family, 1416-1537*, 1958, pp. 3-11.

waves. Under the first two Percies of Alnwick—between 1309 and 1335—they secured the Alnwick and Warkworth estates in Northumberland, the hereditary custody of Berwick-on-Tweed, a permanent revenue from the customs there, and an estate at Jedburgh in Scotland. Then, from 1368, with the accession of the fourth Percy of Alnwick, who was created Earl of Northumberland in 1377, they strengthened their position in Northumberland and acquired, with the Lucy estates around Cockermouth, the leading position in Cumberland. By 1399, therefore, the Percies had become the most powerful magnates on the Scottish Border.

At the close of Richard II's reign the Percies were three⁵—Henry, first Percy Earl of Northumberland, who was the head of the family, his son Henry, known as 'Hotspur', and his brother Thomas. The latter held only a very small portion of the Percy inheritance:⁶ but his political experience and influence were greater than his lack of territorial power might suggest. He had been prominent as a captain in the French wars,⁷ while he had risen in the royal service at court, becoming steward of the household in 1393.⁸ Service as warrior and official under the Crown brought large financial and territorial rewards,⁹ to which was added in 1397 the title of Earl of Worcester. Because he remained a bachelor, he was unable to found a line of his own and thus lacked the temptation to break away from family policies. His fortunes, therefore, can be regarded as being bound up with those of his brother and nephew.¹⁰ There can be no doubt of the Percies' thrusting ambition in 1399. Their landed dominance on the Scottish Border was of comparatively recent creation: indeed, their estates in Cumberland had been acquired less than twenty years before.¹¹ The second wave of territorial expansion which occurred in the late fourteenth century was the work of the Earl who welcomed Henry of Lancaster.

The Percies' landed supremacy on the Scottish Border led naturally and inevitably to expectations of dominance in local politics and administration. During the reign of Richard II it is clear that they aimed to control Border politics and administration through securing the Wardenships of both the East and West Marches towards Scotland.¹² The proximity of their estates to the Border and the ever-present threat of Scottish raids made it essential that they control at least a major share of the defences of the north. Moreover, the

⁵ Northumberland's two younger sons were dead, though one of them, Thomas, left a son, known as Henry Percy of Athol.

⁶ See Bean, p. 159.

⁷ See, e.g., *Dictionary of National Biography* (reissue), xv, 874-6.

⁸ T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*, vi, 45.

⁹ E.g. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1399-1401*, p. 110 and details therein.

¹⁰ In the entail of the Lucy estates in Cumberland he took precedence over his two younger nephews (Bean, pp. 8-9).

¹¹ The Earl's marriage to the Lucy heiress took place in 1381, but the estates were not settled on the Percies until 1384.

¹² See R. R. Reid, 'The Office of Warden of the Marches; Its Origin and Early History', *EHR*, xxxii (1917), 490 and 494; R. L. Storey, 'The Wardens of the Marches of England towards Scotland, 1377-1489', *ibid.*, lxxii (1957), 594-603.

Wardenships could indirectly confer financial advantages in that retainers normally charged on the Percies' own revenues could be used and paid in operations and duties financed by the Crown. In the summer of 1381 the Earl contested Lancastrian ambitions towards Border supremacy when John of Gaunt acted as King's Lieutenant in the Marches: his refusal to give shelter to Gaunt during the Peasants' Revolt led to a bitter quarrel between them.¹³ Although the Earl had to give way,¹⁴ his determination to defy Gaunt reveals the importance he attached to control of the Border, or, at any rate the exclusion therefrom of the most powerful magnate in England. In 1384 Gaunt recognized the dangers of contesting the local ambitions of the house of Percy and the Earl virtually became his deputy for a few months.¹⁵ Between 1391 and 1396 the Percies' ambitions triumphed when they controlled the whole of the defences of the Border: the Earl was Warden of the East March¹⁶ and his son Hotspur Warden of the West.¹⁷

Viewed in the light of their recent territorial gains and Border ambitions, the revolution of 1399 can be regarded as a further stage in the territorial and political advance of the Percy family. The landing of Henry of Lancaster offered fresh opportunities to a family that had been intent on increasing its power throughout the previous century. However, they possessed more precise and personal motives for rebelling against Richard II. In 1396 they had lost their control of the West March and retained only the East which was now held by Hotspur.¹⁸ Moreover, Richard had in 1397 considerably strengthened the power of the house of Neville by granting the Penrith estates in Cumberland in tail to Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland and his wife.¹⁹ Even if Richard did not intend thereby to erect a territorial power to counterbalance that held by the Percies in the extreme north-west, they are bound to have regarded this action as creating a potential threat to their position, especially since the Earl of Northumberland appears to have had designs on these estates.²⁰ There is certainly some evidence that the Earl and Hotspur were on bad terms with Richard II in 1399.²¹ Froissart's story that they were banished and forced to take refuge in Scotland²² cannot be accepted, but it probably had some foundation in fact.

The situation which existed in England in 1399 enabled the Percies to play a more important and influential rôle than the size of their estates and their previous significance in national politics might

¹³ Storey, p. 596; S. Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, 1904, pp. 244-5 and 251-3.

¹⁴ Armitage-Smith, pp. 255-6.

¹⁵ Storey, pp. 597-8.

¹⁶ *Rotuli Scotiae*, ii, Record Comm., 1819, 108b and 110b.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, ii. 105b.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, ii. 130b-131a.

¹⁹ *CPR 1396-99*, p. 267.

²⁰ He had held them at farm from John, Duke of Brittany (*Calendar of Close Rolls, 1396-99*, p. 141).

²¹ Richard did not accept the request, dated 14 July 1398, that the Earl should be given a commission as Warden of the March, although it was made by his favourite the Duke of Albemarle who was then Warden of the West March (*Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ed. J. Bain, iv, 1888, no. 506, pp. 106-7).

²² *Œuvres de Froissart*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 1872, xvi. 152-6.

suggest. In 1387-8, for instance, when their territorial power was only a little less than it was to be a dozen years later,²³ the Earl of Northumberland was not a leading figure in the struggle between Richard II and the Appellants and exerted, at the most, a merely mediatory influence on the main contestants.²⁴ But in the revolution of 1399 the parts played by the Earl and Hotspur were second only to that of Lancaster himself. The explanation for this increase in the political importance of the Percies may be found in the combined effects of accident and of Richard's policies towards his enemies, which had removed from the political scene a number of magnates who equalled, or exceeded, the Percies in territorial power. Richard's revenge of 1397 had removed the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Arundel—the new Earl of Arundel was a mere youth, and made the Beauchamp Earl of Warwick a prisoner in the Isle of Man. The Earl of March, probably the most powerful magnate next to Lancaster, was a child of eight. The Percies were thus all the more able to put themselves forward as the leading supporters of Lancaster, while, in the absence of the other great families, their help and influence in the north were all the more valuable to Duke Henry.

ii

Within three months of his landing in Yorkshire in July 1399, Henry of Lancaster had secured the throne in place of the deposed Richard II. There can be no doubt that the Earl of Northumberland and Hotspur were his leading supporters in the military operations which placed both Richard's person and his kingdom in the hands of Duke Henry. The Earl seems to have acted as the commander of his army,²⁵ Hotspur quelled disaffection against him in Cheshire,²⁶ and the Earl led the deputation which visited Richard at Conway Castle. Historians have disputed what precisely occurred at Conway. According to the chronicler Créton, Northumberland promised Richard that he would retain his kingdom and declared that Duke Henry sought only his inheritance. He took an oath to this effect on the sacraments. Richard then left in company with the Earl and a small band, but was seized on the way by Northumberland's troops.²⁷ Créton was not an eye-witness at this point;²⁸ but he was probably at Flint²⁹ and, furthermore, his story is confirmed in its main outlines by the independent account of the Dieulacres Chronicle which, though less detailed, agrees that Richard was seized by a trick.³⁰ If we take into account further

²³ See Bean, pp. 9-10.

²⁴ *The Kirkstall Abbey Chronicles*, ed. J. Taylor (Publications of the Thoresby Society, xlii, 1952), pp. 70 and 131.

²⁵ E.g., *ibid.*, p. 78.

²⁶ *Trokelowe, etc. . . . Annales*, (ed. Riley, Rolls Series, xxviii, (3), 1866), pp. 250-1.

²⁷ *Archaeologia*, xx (1824), 132-48.

²⁸ M. V. Clarke and V. H. Galbraith, 'The Deposition of Richard II', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xiv (1930), 138-9.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

confirmation, direct and indirect, from other sources,³¹ we must conclude that the culminating success of the campaign of July–August 1399—the seizure of Richard’s person—was the work of Northumberland. Henry of Lancaster clearly owed his military success at this point to the Percies more than to any other family³²

The Percies’ support of Duke Henry in July–August 1399 cannot be denied. What are in dispute are the reasons behind their actions, and their attitude to the deposition of Richard II. When they rebelled in 1403, they gave an explanation of their conduct in a manifesto issued against Henry.³³ According to this, Henry, shortly after his arrival in England, had sworn on the sacraments at Doncaster that he came to claim no more than his own and his wife’s inheritances and that ‘Richard our Lord the King would then reign for term of his life governed by the good counsel of the lords spiritual and temporal’. But Henry broke his oath, imprisoned Richard in the Tower of London and forced him to resign the Crown. The issue of the precise nature of the rôle played by the Percies in the revolution turns on the truth or falseness of this accusation, which receives considerable support from two chronicles—that of John Hardyng and that of the monastic house of Dieulacres, which has been printed and discussed by Miss Clarke and Professor Galbraith.

Hardyng’s chronicle exists in two versions—the Lancastrian, presented to Henry VI, and the Yorkist, presented to Edward IV. The only edition in print—that produced by Sir Henry Ellis in 1812—comprises the Yorkist version; and it certainly confirms to the hilt the claims made by the Percies in their manifesto. Hardyng, indeed, damns Henry still further: he had, once Richard was in his hands, persuaded the Earl and Hotspur to send their followers home, and had then had himself crowned King, despite the attempts of the three Percies to persuade him to keep to his oath. Supporting details are given by Hardyng in a prose appendix to his chronicle, including our only copy of the Percy manifesto. Historians have long been aware of the reasons why Hardyng cannot be trusted: at this time he was a devoted follower of the Percies, having been brought up in the house of Hotspur and serving under him in several campaigns, including that of Shrewsbury. Moreover, it is known that in another connection Hardyng committed forgeries.³⁴ But no attention has yet been given to the serious divergences between the accounts which Hardyng gives of these events in the two versions of his chronicle. Kingsford, who claimed to have collated the two versions, mentioned no serious differences with regard to the deposition of Richard II and the opening of Henry

³¹ Clarke and Galbraith, pp. 143–6.

³² The arguments of Wilkinson (*art. cit.*, pp. 217–20) that the Percies were not implicated in, and were in fact opposed to, Richard’s deposition are based almost completely on the Percies’ own later version of these events.

³³ *John Hardyng, Chronicle of*, ed. H. Ellis, 1812, pp. 352–3.

³⁴ C. L. Kingsford, ‘The First Version of Hardyng’s Chronicle’, *EHR*, xxvii (1912), 467–8.

IV's reign.³⁵ But an examination of the manuscript of the Lancastrian version reveals that it contradicts in all important respects that presented to the Yorkist king six years later. Its account is completely favourable to Henry IV: there is no reference at all to the oath sworn by him at Doncaster and there is nothing to suggest that there was opposition to Henry's accession from the Percies or elsewhere.³⁶ Hardyng's first story was thus completely favourable to the first of the Lancastrian kings: in his second account he reproduced the Percies' propaganda of 1403 and thus produced a narrative which supported the pretensions of the house of York for the first of whose kings it was intended. When analysed, therefore, Hardyng's evidence gives no positive support to the Percies' case: unless it receives corroboration from completely trustworthy evidence, there is no reason why the second version of his chronicle should be more reliable than the first.

The Dieulacres Chronicle has no link with the house of Percy. But a careful reading shows that its support of the Percy case is more apparent than real. The details of Lancaster's perjury are embodied in the chronicler's account of the negotiations between the Percies—Hotspur and his uncle Worcester—and Henry IV on the eve of the battle of Shrewsbury:³⁷ Hotspur declared that he had rebelled

because of the crown which [the King] had unjustly seized and which passed by hereditary right to the son of the Earl of March. . . . It was a probable indication that Henry Percy did not consent [to Henry IV's election] that on the day of the coronation he did not come to the feast. The reason was definitely the fact that the coronation took place against his will: [he opposed it] because Duke Henry swore to the two other Henries on the relics of

³⁵ C. L. Kingsford, 'The First Version of Hardyng's Chronicle', *EHR*, xxvii (1912), 472.

³⁶ British Museum, Lansdowne MS. 204, ff. 202v–203. The portion dealing with Richard's capture and journey to London was printed by Webb, the editor of Créton, in *Archaeologia*, xx (1824), 240. The details in this version differ not only from those in the printed Yorkist version but also from those given by the official record in the Parliament Roll. We are told that Northumberland brought Richard out of Conway Castle:

'thurgh trefy and ful discrete covenande
Hym broughte anone withouten felony'.

This stress on Northumberland's honesty in his negotiations with Richard does not occur in the later version, because the charges made against Henry IV therein made it unnecessary. Richard was treated as King, but was placed in the Tower

'Thar to abyde the parmentes awarde
What it wolde say of hym or yit ordayne
Hym to depose or have hym kyng agayne.

Bot than it was ner unto Michelmesse
And of his Regne the thre and twenty yer
When he his Reme stondyng in that distresse
Resigned hole with all that myght affer
Tyll Duke Henry of Lancastre full cler
Renounisying than his right and goverauce
Submytting hym unto his ordynaunce'.

Hardyng thus states that Richard's abdication occurred in London and he makes no mention of a promise to abdicate made at Conway. Clarke and Galbraith do not appear to have consulted the Lansdowne manuscript on this point, though its evidence supports their conclusion that Richard did not resign at Conway (*art. cit.*, p. 155).

³⁷ Clarke and Galbraith, p. 179.

Bridlington that he would never seek the Crown, and then said that, if anyone more worthy of the Crown was found, he would willingly withdraw; he declared that the duchy of Lancaster would suffice for him.

This excerpt requires careful attention. It appears, in the first place, to contain confirmation of the charge that Henry IV had committed perjury in seizing the crown. But the oath described therein and that in Hardyng and the Percy manifesto are distinctly different. According to the latter, Henry swore to allow Richard to keep his throne. But the Dieulacres version states that Henry promised to give way if a more suitable candidate was found and content himself with his inheritance: it implies that the removal of Richard was intended from the start.³⁸ In this context, however, the Dieulacres Chronicle does adduce a piece of evidence in favour of the Percies' claims which does not appear elsewhere: Hotspur refused to attend Henry IV's coronation feast. It is, however, doubtful whether any reliance can be attached to this statement or any conclusions drawn from it. We know that on the eve of the coronation Hotspur was created a Knight of the Bath and robes were purchased for himself and his wife.³⁹ Moreover, his father played a leading part both in the coronation and in the feast as constable of England.⁴⁰ We must conclude that the information contained in the Dieulacres Chronicle—coming, as it does, in the description of the negotiations on the eve of Shrewsbury—is best regarded as another version of the Percies' propaganda.

On the other hand, a study of the other chronicles of the period tends to discredit the Percies' story: they certainly yield no trace of support for it. It is contradicted by the narrative of Adam of Usk who tells how a commission, of which he himself was a member, was appointed to report on the best means of substituting Henry for Richard.⁴¹ According to the *Chronique de la Traïson et Mort de Richart Deux*—a good authority for events in London—it was Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, who stepped forward in parliament and cried 'Long live Henry of Lancaster, King of England'.⁴² The same author states that the Earl of Northumberland was amongst the lords who urged Henry to put Richard to death when, a few months later, a rebellion in his favour occurred.⁴³ Moreover, we have seen that we must accept

³⁸ The Dieulacres Chronicle locates the oath at Bridlington, not Doncaster. Stories of an oath like that described by the Percies' manifesto were abroad at the time of Archbishop Scrope's rebellion in 1405, though it was then located at, or near, Chester (T. Gascoigne, *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, ed. J. E. T. Rogers, 1881, pp. 229-30; *The Historians of the Church of York*, ed. Raine (Rolls Ser.), ii. 394). It is, however, important to notice that our copy of Archbishop Scrope's accusations against Henry IV does not refer to it (*ibid.*, ii. 294-304). Thus all our references to an oath of this type by Henry IV come from sources hostile to him, while serious discrepancies occur between them. (I must thank Professor J. S. Roskell for bringing to my attention the evidence for an oath at Chester.)

³⁹ *The Complete Peerage* (revised ed.), ix. 714.

⁴⁰ *Chronicon Adae de Usk*, ed. E. M. Thompson, 1904, pp. 34 and 187.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30 and 181. See also Lapsley, pp. 321-2.

⁴² *Chronique de la Traïson et Mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre*, ed. B. Williams, 1846, pp. 69 and 220.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 78 and 230.

the story, told by both Créton and the Dieulacres chronicler, that the Earl of Northumberland tricked Richard into giving himself up.⁴⁴ It is difficult to believe that he undertook and executed the task of securing Richard's person without ensuring that he knew Lancaster's intentions.⁴⁵

Nor can any evidence—apart from the manifesto and Hardyng—be discovered to support the idea that the Percies had in September 1399 pressed the claims of their kinsman, the young Earl of March.⁴⁶ Certain facts, indeed, provide strong reasons for believing that this did not occur. On 17 November 1399 Henry IV granted to five persons, of whom the Earl of Northumberland and Hotspur were two, the farm of the greater part⁴⁷ of the Mortimer estates during the minority of the Earl of March.⁴⁸ On 1 October 1401 the farm was transferred to the Earl alone.⁴⁹ In November 1401, when some of Hotspur's interests in North Wales were transferred to the Prince of Wales, the former was recompensed with grants of Mortimer estates.⁵⁰ Had the Percies already espoused the claims of March, it is highly unlikely that Henry IV would have provided them with such opportunities to make contact with other sympathizers of the house of Mortimer.

An analysis of the chronicle and other evidence thus makes the Percy version of the revolution appear very unlikely. Definite proof to the contrary cannot be obtained when the evidence is at once so meagre and contradictory, but the impression that they supported Lancaster's seizure of the throne is confirmed by another piece of evidence which enables us to throw fresh light on the relations between Henry of Lancaster and the Percies in the crucial weeks following his invasion. On 2 August 1399 Duke Henry granted to the first Earl of Northumberland the Wardenship of the West March⁵¹—a grant which was made under the seal of the Duchy of Lancaster.⁵² The date—2 August—requires special attention. On this day, according to Adam of Usk,⁵³ whose dating is accepted by Miss Clarke and Professor Galbraith,⁵⁴ Lancaster and his forces were at Hereford; Richard was hurrying north

⁴⁴ See above, p. 215 and refs.

⁴⁵ Wilkinson's views ignore the realities of the political situation (*art. cit.*, pp. 217–20).

⁴⁶ There is no convincing evidence for the story that Richard II in 1385 had recognized the young Earl of March's father as his heir (Lapsley, p. 325, n. 5 and M. V. Clarke, *Fourteenth Century Studies*, 1937, p. 107, n. 5).

⁴⁷ Excluding the lordship of Denbigh.

⁴⁸ *Calendar of Fine Rolls*, 1399–1405, p. 22.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 151–2.

⁵⁰ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, ed. Harris Nicolas, 1834, i. 178.

⁵¹ The terms of the grant are recited in an issue warrant under the privy seal of 31 October 1399 (Exchequer of Receipt, E.404/15/46) and also referred to in the Issue Roll of Michaelmas 1 Hen. IV under 22 November 1399 (E.403/564). It is mentioned by Storey (*art. cit.*, p. 603), who states that 'it was Northumberland's first prize for his desertion of Richard, and the fact that he accepted a grant made in this unconstitutional form is a clear indication of his complicity in the usurpation of Henry IV'. The remarkable features of this piece of evidence, however, deserve rather more careful and cautious attention than they receive from Mr. Storey. My own discussion of it was written before Mr. Storey's paper appeared.

⁵² The seal in question was probably the privy seal. On this point, and for other instances of its use by Henry in July–August 1399, see R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, 1953, i. 138, n. 3.

⁵³ Adam of Usk, pp. 25 and 175.

⁵⁴ Clarke and Galbraith, p. 140.

through Wales. Thus we have Henry of Lancaster employing the prerogatives of the English Crown under the seal of the duchy of Lancaster a fortnight before he met Richard. The Earl of Northumberland, by accepting the Wardenship, condoned Henry's assumption of royal prerogatives: it is difficult to believe that, when he did so, he was not aware of Henry's intention to seize the throne or that, if aware of it, he was unwilling to give Henry his support. Two further points emphasize the suspicious nature of this transaction. It cannot be argued that conditions on the Border in August 1399 made the immediate appointment of the Earl essential, since he and his son remained south several months after this. Moreover, once Richard II was in the hands of the rebels, it would have been possible to issue the grant under his Great Seal,⁵⁵ and, if required, since the date of the instrument would have been later, have it made retrospective: the fact that this course was not followed makes it appear even more likely that both Lancaster and Northumberland knew that Richard was to lose his throne. It is worth noting the connection between this grant and the Percies' ambitions in the Border area: they had lost the Wardenship of the West March in 1396⁵⁶ and with its recovery their dominance in Border politics and administration was restored. It is regrettable that we do not possess the original of the grant or know more about it. But perhaps it may have been one of a number of bargains made by the Percies with Lancaster. Even though this suggestion cannot be proved, we can surely regard the grant of 2 August as proof of the Percies' complicity in Lancaster's plans, especially in the light of our conclusions concerning the chronicle evidence. If Henry of Lancaster swore an oath at Doncaster, and thereafter committed perjury, the Percies were his accomplices therein.

A study of the Percies' gains as a result of the change of dynasty makes their later version of events appear even more unlikely. The Earl of Northumberland on 30 September 1399 became constable of England for life.⁵⁷ By grants made on 21 and 23 October 1399, he and his son once more controlled the Border for a period which was to last ten years:⁵⁸ the Earl, as Warden of the West March, was to receive revenues of £1500 a year in time of peace or truce and £6000 in time of war; for Hotspur, as Warden of the East March, the figures were £3000 and £12,000 respectively. In addition to his Wardenship, Hotspur also held the captaincy of Roxburgh Castle. The family's strength in Northumberland was further increased on 24 October 1399 by the grant to Hotspur for life of the castle and lordship of Bamburgh.⁵⁹

At the same time the Percies made gains outside the extreme north. The Earl and his heirs received the Isle of Man on 19 October 1399.⁶⁰ Hotspur secured large grants for life of offices in north Wales—that

⁵⁵ For grants which were so issued, see *CPR*, 1396-9, pp. 591-2.

⁵⁶ *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 130b-131a.

⁵⁸ *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 151.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 27 and 171.

⁵⁷ *CPR*, 1399-1401, p. 12.

⁵⁹ *CPR*, 1399-1401, pp. 31 and 162.

of justice of Chester, North Wales and Flintshire, the constablerships of the castles of Chester, Flint, Conway and Caernarvon, and the county and lordship of Anglesey with the castle of Beaumaris.⁶¹ To their control of the Scottish Border the Percies thus added the virtual government of north Wales—an area in which the family had hitherto shown no interest. On a lesser scale Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, also gained from the accession of Henry IV: together with confirmation of all the grants he had received from Edward III and Richard II,⁶² he was given 500 marks a year for life⁶³ and became admiral of England.⁶⁴

Most of these grants from the new King, it should be noted, occurred within a month or so of his accession. It is difficult not to believe that they were rewards for the services rendered by the Percies: the latter's power would hardly have been increased on this scale had they opposed Henry IV's ambitions a few weeks before. Their gains were much greater, both in financial value and in political and strategic importance, than those of the rival house of Neville⁶⁵ whose head—Ralph, Earl of Westmorland—had joined Henry IV at the same time as themselves. The impression we receive is that the Percies had engaged in kingmaking for their own ends and, as a result, both strengthened their position in the extreme north and extended their power and influence to new areas.

iii

When they rebelled against Henry IV in July 1403, the Percies completely reversed the policy which they had followed in 1399. There can be no doubt that they intended to depose the first of the Lancastrian kings and place the young Mortimer Earl of March on the throne. The latter is described as the rightful king both in their manifesto and in the account of their charges against Henry IV which is given in the Dieulacres Chronicle.⁶⁶ Hardyng states that Hotspur 'purposed had Mortimer his coronement',⁶⁷ while, according to Adam of Usk, 'on behalf of the Crown of England claimed for the Earl of March . . . a deadly quarrel arose between the King and the house of Percy of Northumberland, as kin to the same Earl'.⁶⁸

Historians who have attempted to explain the Percies' motives in this rebellion have stressed several reasons for their hostility to Henry IV—delays in the payment of March revenues, jealousy of the growing power of the house of Neville, Henry IV's refusal to allow them to

⁶¹ *CPR, 1399-1401*, pp. 28, 37, 155 and 158.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁶⁵ Ralph, Earl of Westmorland, received the office of marshal and the lordship and honour of Richmond, all for life (*ibid.*, pp. 9 and 24). His brother Thomas, Lord Furnival, was granted the custody of Lochmaben and Annandale on the Scottish Border for life (*Rot. Scot.*, ii, 151b).

⁶⁶ Clarke and Galbraith, p. 179.

⁶⁷ Hardyng, p. 361.

⁶⁸ Adam of Usk, pp. 82 and 252.

ransom the Scottish prisoners captured at Humbleton Hill and their kinsman Sir Edmund Mortimer who was the prisoner of Owen Glendower. The fact that the Percies were the wholehearted supporters of Henry IV in 1399 and gained considerably from his accession makes it essential that we re-examine the motives which lay behind their rebellion in 1403. Each of the grievances we have mentioned deserves careful attention, but none of them can in itself be regarded as a cause of the breach between Henry IV and the Percies: rather, they form a history of deteriorating personal relationships which was one of several factors in deciding the Percies to rebel.

There is clear evidence that the Percies had some grounds of complaint against Henry IV in that they found it impossible to secure prompt payment of all the revenues due to them for their duties on the Marches. Their grievances found their way into some of the chronicles: the *Continuatio Eulogii Historiarum* describes in its account of the origins of their rebellion a quarrel between Northumberland and Henry IV, in which the Earl demanded money for the defence of the Marches and the King angrily replied 'Aurum non habeo, aurum non habebis'.⁶⁹ Evidence which is both more detailed and reliable survives in some letters written by the Earl and his son to the King or his council. On 3 May 1401 Hotspur wrote complaining that his soldiers in the East March were without their pay.⁷⁰ In another letter of 3 July he described in strong terms his difficulties in obtaining payment of his revenues from assignments made on the customs of London, Hull and Boston and expressed surprise that the lords of the council made so little effort to safeguard the financial needs of the defences of the north.⁷¹ On 30 May 1403 the Earl wrote to the council appealing for his soldiers' pay.⁷² The most striking evidence of the Percies' financial grievances is to be found in a letter from the Earl to the King himself, written a month later, on 26 June 1403, and within a fortnight of the outbreak of the rebellion. In it he demanded that money be sent immediately, if dishonour to the chivalry of the realm and the Percies themselves was to be avoided. He denied the rumour that he and his son had received £60,000 from the Crown since the King's coronation and claimed that £20,000 was owing to them.⁷³

The strength of the Percies' grievances, and the extent to which they were justified, can be tested from the evidence of the Issue and Receipt Rolls of the Exchequer: their figures, which are summarized in the accompanying table, enable us to calculate the size of the sums actually paid to the Percies.

The figures shown justify us in accepting the Earl's denial that he and

⁶⁹ *Eulogium Historiarum*, iii (ed. Haydon, Rolls Series, ix, 1863), p. 396.

⁷⁰ *Proceedings of Privy Council*, i. 150-1.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, ii. 57.

⁷² *Ibid.*, i. 203-4.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, i. 204-5. Transcripts of all these letters are printed in Fonblanque, i. 209-10, 522-3, and 525-7.

THE PERCIES' REVENUES AS WARDENS OF THE MARCHES, 1399-1403⁷⁴

Term	In Cash			By Assignments			Bad Tallies			Net Total		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Mich. 1 Hen. IV	1515	16	9	4352	6	9½	852	11	7	5015	11	11½
Easter 1	2280	0	0	1500	0	0	1140	0	0	2640	0	0
Mich. 2	2886	13	4	3626	18	4½	2497	11	0½	4016	0	8
Easter 2	approx. 6800 0 0 ⁷⁵						25	0	0	6775	0	0
Mich. 3	3000	0	0	5364	13	4	701	19	0½	7662	0	11½
Easter 3	1681	13	4	8619	6	8	4832	8	1	5468	11	11
Mich. 4	2250	0	0	5513	2	4	750	0	0	7013	2	4
Easter 4	666	13	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTALS, excl. Easter 4	£49,390 10 11			£10,799 9 9			£38,591 1 2					

his son had received £60,000 from the Crown. Unfortunately, it is impossible to tell precisely how much still remained owing to the Percies, since in time of war they received sums over and above their war rates as Wardens. But the magnitude of the sums that had been paid to them suggests that the total still owing was well below £20,000. The table, however, contains considerable sums under the heading of 'bad tallies'—that is, sums received in the form, not of cash, but of tallies of assignment which the royal officials to whom they were addressed failed, or refused, to cash and which were then entered as loans on the Receipt Rolls. Careful consideration of all the figures in the Issue and Receipt Rolls suggests that the Percies were not unfairly treated in their financial dealings with the Crown. In the first place, nothing sinister attaches to the heavy incidence of 'bad tallies', since they were a natural hazard encountered in service with the Crown.⁷⁶ In the second place, it is clear that real efforts were made to meet the Percies' needs. Up to the end of Michaelmas Term 4 Hen. IV and excluding Easter 2 Hen. IV, cash formed 32 per cent of the total of all revenues; and 'bad tallies' were 37 per cent of the total of assignments.⁷⁷ Both these percentages compare very favourably with those worked out for the Percies' successors as Wardens thirty years later.⁷⁸ In the third place, it appears that the letters of Hotspur and his father were written at times of special strain. Hotspur's letters of May and July 1401 followed a Michaelmas Term

⁷⁴ The table, and the remarks that follow, are based on Exchequer of Receipt, Receipt Rolls (E.401), 617-30 and Issue Rolls (E.403), 564-78.

⁷⁵ There is no Issue Roll extant for Easter 2 Hen. IV. The approximate figure of £6800 has been calculated from the following items:

(a) balances due to the Percies from accounts rendered by them at the Exchequer in Mich. 2 Hen. IV, but not paid then (Foreign Accts., (E.364) 34/9);

(b) sums the payment of which was directed by writs of issue (E.404/16/695 and 699);

(c) the totals of 'bad tallies' repaid during the term (according to the dates of repayment entered in the Receipt Rolls);

(d) the half-yearly instalments due to the Earl and Hotspur at peace-time rates.

⁷⁶ On this point, see G. L. Harriss, 'Fictitious Loans', *Economic History Review*, Second Series, viii (1955-6).

⁷⁷ The totals on which these percentages are based include assignments which, because they became 'bad tallies' and were thus repaid at a later stage, are entered twice in the table.

⁷⁸ J. L. Kirby, 'The Issues of the Lancastrian Exchequer and Lord Cromwell's Estimates of 1433', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxiv (1951), 144.

in which he had suffered from 'bad tallies' totalling £1680 17s. 8½d.; but on 14 July and 13 August 1401 he and his father were repaid 'bad tallies' to a total of £2885 10s. 11½d. It is equally clear that the Earl's letters of May-June 1403 occurred at a time of special strain. The Percies had clearly been reasonably well treated during Michaelmas 1402-3. They received a considerable sum in cash and double the same amount in the form of tallies of assignment, the whole of which consisted of the repayment of 'bad tallies'. But it is obvious that the Crown found these repayments a considerable strain: it was not able to pay the whole of the sums due to the Percies for their efforts against the Scots in the latter part of Easter 1402 and during Michaelmas 1402-3 and the Percies received no payments during Easter 1403. Cash to a total of £666 13s. 4d. was despatched, but only on 17 July, after their rebellion had broken out.

There can be no doubt that in the summer of 1403 the Percies were faced with financial difficulties as Wardens of the Marches. But, if their financial relations with the Crown are judged as a whole, it is equally clear that the Crown had genuinely tried to meet their needs and their difficulties were such as to be expected by a magnate who undertook duties on the March at that time. The Percies' financial grievances are, therefore, not a complete and adequate explanation of their rebellion: they are best studied and understood, not in isolation, but as part of the deterioration which undoubtedly occurred in their relations with Henry IV. There can be little doubt that the Percies expected their demands to be satisfied, whatever the state of the royal exchequer: delays and difficulties in meeting them led to exasperation on their part and to suspicions of conspiracies against them in the King's immediate circle. In this connection it is significant that the Earl's letter of 26 June 1403 complains of wrong information given the King and at the same time makes financial claims which careful inquiry reveals as exorbitant.

Other factors contributed to the widening of the growing breach between the Percies and Henry IV. There is some evidence that the Percies were opposed to the King's Welsh policy and favoured a *rapprochement* with the rebel Owen Glendower,⁷⁹ possibly because they wanted the energies and resources of the Crown switched to the support of their own interests on the Scottish Border. In March 1402 the captaincy of Roxburgh Castle was transferred from Hotspur to Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland;⁸⁰ although there is no record of a protest by the Percies, they are certain to have resented this strengthening of the rival house of Neville at the expense of their own power on the Border.⁸¹ On 14 September 1402 the Earl of Northumberland and Hotspur inflicted an overwhelming defeat on the Scots at Humbledon

⁷⁹ See the story in *Incerti Scriptoris Chronicon Anglie*, ed. J. A. Giles, 1838, pp. 30-2 and the discussion of it in J. E. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, 1931, pp. 45-6.

⁸⁰ *Rot. Scot.*, ii. 161a.

⁸¹ In 1399 the captaincy had been granted for a period of ten years.

Hill. The Percies' success was in marked contrast with the King's own record of failure against the Scots: possibly it was jealousy of their achievement as much as a determination to assert the rights of the Crown which explains the order issued by Henry IV that none of the prisoners were to be ransomed without his leave.⁸² Although there was a recent precedent for such royal intervention,⁸³ it was bitterly resented by the Percies. The Earl complied with the King's order, but Hotspur refused to part with his captives, who included the Earl of Douglas.⁸⁴ On the preceding 22 June Sir Edmund Mortimer, Hotspur's brother-in-law, had been captured by the forces of Owen Glendower.⁸⁵ The King refused to allow the Percies to arrange his ransom, on the ground that Mortimer had committed treason, an accusation which must have aggravated the Percies' anger. It is not clear whether this disagreement occurred before or after the Battle of Humbleton Hill. If the former was the case, the quarrel over Mortimer's ransom would help to explain the Percies' attitude over the Scottish prisoners.⁸⁶ But, in any event, in the late autumn of 1402 the Percies had two bitter grounds of grievance against Henry IV.

By the end of 1402 the situation which existed between Henry IV and the Percies was in marked contrast with that of three years earlier. They remained his most powerful subjects; but the atmosphere of personal friendship had disappeared, they could no longer be sure that they could wield influence over the King, and open quarrels had occurred. Does this situation in itself explain the Percies' rebellion of July 1403? There are good reasons for believing that it cannot be explained in these terms alone. Despite the quarrels, there is no evidence that Henry IV was actively hostile; and their disagreements with him had not inflicted any real damage on their family fortunes. There are clear indications that their rebellion, when it broke out, took the King by surprise.⁸⁷ Indeed, one of the King's actions, within four months of the rebellion, suggests that he was still keen to retain the Percies' friendship and still ready to increase their power. On 2 March 1403 he granted to the Earl of Northumberland and his heirs a great tract of territory, covering the greater part of southern Scotland which had just been annexed to the English Crown.⁸⁸ It is true that these lands still

⁸² CCR., 1399-1402, p. 552.

⁸⁴ Hardyng, p. 360.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

⁸⁵ Lloyd, p. 51.

⁸⁶ In the case of these incidents both versions of Hardyng's chronicle follow the same chronology: Mortimer's request for the King's help over his ransom precedes the Battle of Humbleton; then follow Hotspur's refusal to surrender his prisoners and a bitter quarrel between him and the King in which he complains of Henry's treatment of Mortimer and in which Henry upbraids him for his defiance. Thus Hardyng's evidence, which we would expect to be well-informed on these details, suggests that the quarrels over Mortimer and the Scottish prisoners were connected (*ibid.*, pp. 359-61; Brit. Mus., Lansdowne MS. 204, f. 205).

⁸⁷ Ramsay, *i.* 57-8; Wylie, *i.* 350-1; Lloyd, p. 69.

⁸⁸ *Rot. Scot.*, *ii.* 163a-164a. The grant comprised all the estates of the captive Earl of Douglas and his family, reserving to the Nevilles their lands in the area and to the English Crown Roxburgh and Annandale and its rights of general overlordship. We must reject Ramsay's suggestion (*i.* 55) that it was 'possibly intended as a side-stroke at the son, who

had to be conquered; but the grant gave the Percies claims which had been their leading territorial ambition throughout the previous century and made them supreme in the north, even over the house of Neville. The fact that the Percies received this grant suggests that their earlier personal quarrels with Henry IV cannot adequately explain their rebellion.

For a more convincing assessment of the Percies' motives we must turn to some of the contemporary chroniclers. It is significant that Adam of Usk states that, as a result of their victory at Humbledon Hill, the Percies became 'too much puffed up'.⁸⁹ The chronicler of Dieulacres in his description of the negotiations on the eve of Shrewsbury tells how Henry IV accused the Percies of themselves having ambitions on the Crown: once successful, they intended to get rid of the Mortimers, 'and then crown Hotspur or his son, using the hereditary right which belonged to Hotspur's wife'.⁹⁰ Even if we regard this suggestion as far-fetched in the context of 1403, it nevertheless reveals a contemporary reaction to the Percies' ambitions. According to the *Annales Henrici Quarti*, at a critical moment in the Battle of Shrewsbury Hotspur's troops cried out 'Henry Percy King'.⁹¹ The author of the chronicle printed by J. A. Giles states that Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, desired the King's death 'so that he might be better governed under his kinsman'.⁹²

In all these accounts there is a common element: the Percies definitely desired to control the Crown and were suspected of seeking to secure it for themselves. On these grounds the Percies' rebellion of 1403 is best explained as a further effort at kingmaking. It had now become clear to them that Henry IV was not the complaisant and easily dominated creature they had hoped for: their disagreements with him suggested that they could no longer rely on his friendship. Despite the considerable gains they had made in March 1403, they thought it necessary to secure a monarch who would readily allow them to keep the gains and power they already possessed and from whom they could expect still further rewards. The young Mortimer's claim—if successful—would place the government in the hands of his relatives—his uncle by blood, Sir Edmund Mortimer, and the Percies, of whom Hotspur was an uncle by marriage. Where the Percies intended to proceed from there we cannot say—Henry IV's accusations, recorded in the Diculacres Chronicle, call forth echoes of the boy Tudor Edward VI and Northumberland's plans for the succession of Lady Jane Grey. The Percies' advocacy of Mortimer's claims forced them to put forth a story of Henry IV's accession which completely distorted the part they had played in it.

claimed Douglas as his own', since on his father's death Hotspur would inherit the estates. Indeed, in view of Hotspur's refusal to surrender Douglas, it might rather be interpreted as an abject surrender of his previous position by the King.

⁸⁹ Adam of Usk, pp. 85 and 256.

⁹⁰ Clarke and Galbraith, p. 179.

⁹¹ In *Trokelow and Blanford* (Rolls Series), p. 368.

⁹² *Incerti Scriptoris Chronicon Anglie*, p. 33.

With its defeat at Shrewsbury⁹³ the house of Percy never recovered the political stature and territorial power it had enjoyed in the early years of Henry IV's reign. The Earl of Northumberland survived the deaths of his son and brother; but he was deprived of his offices and of his possessions in Jedburgh and hereditary revenues in Berwick-on-Tweed.⁹⁴ His second rebellion in 1405 led to the seizure of his estates by the Crown; and, when his grandson was restored to his title and estates in 1416, his inheritance was much inferior to that enjoyed thirteen years before by his father and grandfather.⁹⁵ The Percies never again dominated national politics as they had done between 1399 and 1403.

⁹³ For details of the Shrewsbury campaign, see Wylie, *i.* 354-65 and Lloyd, pp. 69-71.

⁹⁴ *CPR*, 1401-5, p. 412.

⁹⁵ See Bean, Part II, ch. I, *passim*.

OFFICE HOLDING AS A FACTOR IN ENGLISH HISTORY, 1625-42

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THE PURPOSE of this paper¹ is not to describe the administrative system under Charles I, but to try to explain its importance. That is, to give it an historical context, especially in relation to the kind of regime which existed before 1640 and to the upheavals which followed the overthrow of that regime. This involves relating the system to social and economic changes in England, in so far as these played a part in bringing about the political changes.

Technically our starting point is the accession of Charles I in 1625. But the key-dates for our purposes, after the change of dynasty in 1603, are 1628-9 rather than 1625, and then 1640-2.

It should be emphasized that many features of the administrative system were in no way peculiar to the time of Charles I. Much of what I have to say could be applied to a far longer period. In a sense some of it would be applicable all the way from at least the fourteenth to the eighteenth century. None the less I hope to show that certain aspects of the system can be specifically related to the time of Charles I, and more especially to the history of the Personal Government and its overthrow.

The institutions with whose staffs we are concerned can, for convenience, be grouped under five headings:

- (1) The Central Executive (a convenient modern label) consisting, below the King himself, of the Privy Council, the Secretaries of State, the Masters of Requests, and their respective subordinates; the machinery for issuing orders, grants, warrants, and royal letters, that is, the Offices of the Signet, Privy, and Great Seals; and the Post Office.
- (2) The Royal Household.
- (3) The Finance Departments:—the Exchequer (including land revenue administration and—since it came under the Lord Treasurer—the Customs); the Court of Wards and Liveries; the Duchy of Lancaster.

¹ Read at the Anglo-American Conference of Historians, July 1959. Only the minimum of references have been included, since I have treated the whole subject in greater detail in a book, *The King's Servants: the Civil Service of Charles I (1625-42)*, to be published by Messrs. Routledge & Kegan Paul in 1960.

- (4) The Other Departments of State:—the Mint; the Navy Office (including the administrative staffs of the royal dockyards); the Ordnance; the Tower, and the garrisons of other Forts and Castles.
- (5) The Law Courts:—
- i: Staffed by Common lawyers:—
 - (a) Common Law: King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer
 - (b) Equity: Chancery, and Requests
 - (c) Prerogative: Star Chamber, the Privy Council meeting judicially, the Council in the North, the Council in the Marches of Wales, the Wards, and the Duchy Chamber.
 - ii: Staffed by Civil lawyers:—
 - (d) the ecclesiastical courts: High Commission, Delegates, the Arches, and the Prerogative Court of Canterbury
 - (e) the Court of Chivalry
 - (f) the Court of Admiralty.

It should be noted that this list therefore includes the officials of central departments who functioned in the localities (e.g. the Receiver-Generals and Feodaries, and the Customs staffs in the outports), but excludes local officials as such (Lord and Deputy Lieutenants, J.P.s, Constables, and the rest).

The first question is how far the staffs of all these different institutions can be treated together. There was of course no Civil Service in our sense; but holders of office in all these branches of government had enough in common to enable us to speak of a system, several features of which are broadly discernible (with differences of emphasis here and there), in most if not all of the institutions named.

Although royal officials were still quite literally the King's servants, many of them were not appointed either by him personally or by the Crown in a collective sense. Many offices were in the gift of heads of departments or great officers of state. In Chancery, for example, the King divided the rights of appointment with the Lord Chancellor (or Lord Keeper) and the Master of the Rolls, and in the Exchequer with the Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. This can perhaps be compared with sub-infeudation in the early medieval system of land-holding.

How people came to be appointed, as well as who appointed them, also affected the kind of civil service the King had. Although by the second quarter of the seventeenth century, the patron-client relationship may have been less important than under Elizabeth I, patronage was still the commonest way of securing entry to office.

From 1618 to 1628, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, enjoyed a virtual monopoly of patronage in the upper and even the middle ranks of government, but even he was not able to overthrow the rights

of appointment enjoyed by heads of departments. Still less was Charles I, although certain offices were resumed into the King's gift during the 1630s (e.g. the Six Clerkships of Chancery, and the Prothonotaryships of Common Pleas). In general, there was more competition between rival patrons within Charles's government, after Buckingham's assassination in 1628, than is often supposed. Strafford tried in this respect to cover his rear: first when he took charge at York, and again, not entirely successfully, when he went to Ireland. And despite one or two striking victories, such as the appointment of Windebank as Secretary in 1632, and of Juxon as Lord Treasurer in 1636, Laud's control of patronage in the central government was nothing like as complete as Buckingham's had been in the previous decade.

Next to patronage, many appointments were due to patrimony. Many fathers obtained the succession to their offices for their sons. Patrimony may be extended to include offices being passed to younger brothers, and sons-in-law, and sometimes to nephews, but not normally to cousins. It operated as a more powerful influence because of the custom of granting reversions to offices, whereby the succession to a post could be booked in advance. Sometimes there were two or three reversioners in a queue for one post. If they were young and healthy the office might in effect be reserved for decades ahead. It was almost as difficult for the King to interrupt a reversionary succession as it was for him to get rid of an existing office-holder (of which more will be said below).

The third way in which men entered office was by purchase. The extent of this is unclear, and its significance controversial. We need to distinguish between the selling of offices by the Crown, which was practised by Henry VII, by James I in his middle and later years, and by Charles I until the death of Buckingham, and again, as a result of financial crisis, after 1639, and, on the other hand, the sale of offices by their existing holders, by heads of departments, and by middlemen, or 'brokers', as they were sometimes known.

The second kind of sale was made illegal in law and revenue posts at the end of Edward VI's reign; none the less it seems to have been increasing again towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, and it became much more extensive under James. But even in James's reign, I have found one case of the 1552 Statute being enforced,² and other instances of people saying that it ought to be enforced;³ and I am inclined to doubt Professor Trevor-Roper's contentions that purchase was well nigh universal even under James I, and that constantly intensifying competition for office reflected the growing desperation of a land-owning class unable to prosper without it.⁴ Still, in the Buckingham

² G. Croke, *Reports of Cases* (ed. H. Grimston, 1683), ii. 269 (also available in *The English Reports*, vols. 78-9).

³ E.g. in the 1621 parliament.

⁴ H. R. Trevor-Roper, *The Gentry 1540-1640* (Economic History Review Supplements, I), esp. pp. 26-30 on offices.

period both kinds of sale were very widespread, although the Crown never systematized it and turned it into a regular form of revenue in the way that the French kings did.

Charles I seems to have disapproved of the practice,⁵ perhaps as part of his general fastidiousness, or as a puritanical revolt against his father's lax ways, and I have found very little trace of sales by the Crown between 1629 and 1639. How much the King could do to check the extent of the second kind of sale is not too clear. Since many of these sales were of a clandestine or para-legal nature, the record sources for them are very thin—by contrast with France, where they seem to be voluminous—but even the offices which Charles I resumed into his own gift in the 1630s appear to have gone on being sold.

Purchase did not always bring in men of a different type from patrimony and patronage. It may have very slightly favoured business men who wanted to make a career in the King's service, perhaps for reasons of social prestige, and successful lawyers who wanted less arduous work for a safer income than they could get from practice at the Bar. But genuinely self-made men were more likely to come up through patronage; they were more likely to commend themselves to their patrons or even to the King by their general ability, or by special qualifications, such as a knowledge of foreign languages. Thus merit was a factor in appointment to office, but it can seldom have been effective unless joined with patronage, patrimony, or purchase.

In conjunction with the system of reversions, patrimony made for a certain rigidity. And while it should not be assumed that all the men who got in either through the favour of aristocratic patrons or by patrimonial succession were mere toadies and parasites, they owed their places to someone other than the King.

This tendency to rigidity was much increased by certain other features of the system. Probably owing to the influence of the common law, itself largely formed during the feudal period, office under the Crown was considered as much a private right as a public service, and there are contemporary references to men's rights in their offices as their 'freeholds'.⁶ One is tempted to say outright that offices were treated as pieces of property. However there were some differences. In particular very few offices indeed were actually heritable (that is, as of right, without a patrimonial reversion).

None the less, most medium-ranking and junior officers, though only a few of the great officers of state, enjoyed almost complete security of tenure. They were appointed for life, and short of some technical flaw being found in the validity of their patents, they were very, very hard to get rid of. By contrast, most of the great officers of state, and the Judges of King's Bench and Common Pleas, held during pleasure. And within the limits of what was politically possible, the King could

⁵ Hist. MSS. Comm., *Cowper*, i. 403.

⁶ E.g. in the parliament of 1614 (*Commons Journals*, i. 490B).

sack them at will. There were other less usual forms of tenure, of which during the good behaviour of the holder (enjoyed by the Barons of the Exchequer) was the most notable. A case early in the Personal Government (that of Chief Baron Walter—which can be contrasted with the cases of Chief Justices Coke, Crewe, and Heath, and Solicitor-General Shelton) shows that the difference between good behaviour and during pleasure was one of substance.⁷

Together with the fact that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century civil servants were in no way barred from politics, life tenure made it difficult for the King to ensure that the middle ranks of his administration were staffed by men who approved of, or would support his civil and ecclesiastical policies. It may be said that this does not seem to have been much of a check on the Tudors. Perhaps not; but certainly it was alleged in 1618 that under James I more offices had come to be granted for life than under Queen Elizabeth.⁸ And there are signs in the 1630s of a campaign to undo this. A number of appointments were made during pleasure to posts which before 1628-9 would have been for life.⁹ Also, in 1637 and as late as 1641-2 there is evidence of attempts to widen the grounds on which patents could be automatically invalidated, that is for gross neglect, non-performance of duties, and various abuses committed by an office-holder or by his subordinates.¹⁰ But as with other aspects of administrative reform under Charles I, this mainly remained in the air, and does not seem to have taken much effect.

The way in which office-holders were paid also reflected the general attitude among contemporaries that an office was almost a kind of property. It has been shown that even before the end of Elizabeth's reign, in most cases salaries from the Crown constituted a very small fraction of officers' incomes, and that they depended on fees, gratuities, perquisites, and indirect profits.¹¹ In one respect the system of payment in fees, by members of the public who used the departments in question, increased the general tendency to rigidity. There was opposition to the creation of new posts, on the grounds that fees would be diverted to their holders and away from the existing office-holders.¹² The right to receive a stipendiary fee from the Crown also made it harder to abolish obsolete offices, especially since early in Charles's reign the Common Law Judges ruled that a man must continue to receive the fee payable to him as holder of an office, even though the post itself was abolished.¹³

⁷ See *D.N.B.* and Gardiner, *History of England 1603-42*, for details of these.

⁸ By John Coke, Secretary of State 1625-40 (Hist. MSS. Comm., *Cowper*, i. 99).

⁹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1633-4, p. 361 (the Mint); P.R.O., SP 16/353 fol. 89 (Forts, Castles, Navy, Ordnance); *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1638-9, p. 22 (the Navy).

¹⁰ Croke, *Reports*, iii. 491-2; Bodl. MS. Bankes 5/64.

¹¹ See J. E. Neale, *Essays in Elizabethan History*, 'The Elizabethan Political Scene'; also Joel Hurstfield, *The Queen's Wards: Wardship and Marriage under Elizabeth I* (1958), and Penry Williams, *The Council in the Marches of Wales in the reign of Elizabeth I* (1958).

¹² *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1629-31, pp. 254, 352, 527 (Council in the Marches); *ibid.*, 1635-6, p. 56 (King's Remembrancer's Office).

¹³ Croke, *Reports*, iii. 59-61.

By contrast with the early and mid-Tudor period, the years from 1603 to 1640 saw little change in the institutions of English government. Instead there was a Parkinsonian proliferation of subordinate officials at the lower levels of the existing structure. Many of these additional underlings were the private employees of the existing office-holders, and not—even in theory—the King's servants. This is of course related to the practice of performing official duties in absence and by deputy. There was also a good deal of pluralism, though probably not as much as there was in the church, and some of such pluralism as did exist was of a 'functional' character. Thus in the early 1630s Edward Nicholas was a Council Clerk extraordinary, Secretary to the Admiralty Commissioners, and Secretary to the Fishing Association; only his post for engrossing recusants' land leases could be called a sinecure, or pluralism in any discreditable sense.

To dwell upon such phenomena as absenteeism, pluralism, competition for emoluments, the tendency to increase fees and gratuities at the expense of the public, and generally the attempt to exploit the value of offices to the full, may seem to present the system in a somewhat unfavourable light. But they do *not* in my view indicate any peculiar depravity among Jacobean or Caroline officials. Nor are they necessarily evidence that the gentry was becoming polarized between those waxing gross on the spoils of office, and those decaying for the lack of its refreshing streams. Rather they suggest to me the uncertain, fumbling responses of men on relatively fixed incomes to the pressures of an inflationary age, to the exigencies of the 'Price Revolution'. This is not to deny that a few men at the top made huge fortunes, or that some lower down were corrupt and extortionate. It is only to suggest that we should keep a sense of proportion concerning the profits of office.

Here, too, some aspects of royal policy in the 1630s must have frightened many of the office-holders, and may have positively alienated some of them—for instance, the campaign for economical reform in the Household and the defence departments, and the royal commissions to investigate the taking of excessive fees. There was also a drive against absentees, and thus against pluralism, though it was virtually limited to the naval and military service.¹⁴

These attacks, or possible attacks, on the financial interests of office-holders, should of course be thought of in conjunction with the moves against life tenure, with an increasing reluctance to grant reversions,¹⁵ and with Charles's disapproval of people buying and selling offices. In all this the Crown came up against a perennial problem facing any government which attempts administrative reform without changing its political and social basis: how far such reforms can go without

¹⁴ P.R.O., P.C. 2/50 fols. 257-9 (an order concerning captains of forts and castles, April 1639).

¹⁵ *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1636-7, pp. 462-3 (an order concerning posts in the Navy).

alienating the very men whose loyalty and co-operation is essential for the reforms to be successfully implemented, and indeed for government policy as a whole to be properly executed. The problem is endemic, but it is perhaps at its most acute in autocratic and semi-autocratic regimes, where the men at the top stand to lose most by alienating their supporters in the middle and lower ranks of the ruling hierarchy. Various historical and modern parallels suggest themselves.

Mr. Hurstfield has suggested that the Crown found it easier to allow office-holders to recoup themselves by fees, etc., than to raise more money in taxation with which to pay them better salaries.¹⁶ In substance this was certainly what happened, but if it was a matter of conscious and deliberate policy with Elizabeth I and William Cecil, I can see no evidence that this was so in the 1620s and '30s. And the Crown's attitude towards increases in fees (many of them reasonable in view of the inflation) was inconsistent with such a policy. But it is of course correct to regard the money received by office-holders from members of the public (in the form of fees and gratuities) as a kind of invisible, indirect taxation. As far as I know, this point was first made by Sir William Petty a little later in the seventeenth century.¹⁷ While the English Crown was not (unlike the French Crown) to any great extent a direct beneficiary of the administrative system, it was in this way an indirect one. The value of this form of taxation, if it is legitimate to think of it as such, was very large indeed, compared with the Crown's visible income. Naturally, it is difficult to suggest even the most tentative and approximate figures, and I do so only to indicate what seems likely to be the right order of magnitude. I estimate that in the 1630s the total received by office-holders in fees and gratuities was between £250,000 and £400,000 per annum, and within this range probably over rather than under £300,000.¹⁸ At this time, apart from the sale of capital assets, the Crown's visible income, even including all the famous fiscal devices—Ship Money and the rest, was between £600,000 and £750,000 per annum. Thus fees and gratuities brought gross royal income to more like £900,000 to £1,000,000, an increase of something between 33½ and 50 per cent. Still, it was the office-holders who got this extra money, and not Charles I.

The significance of some of this becomes clearer when we consider who these people were, in the light of how they had come to enter office and what they expected to get out of it. The great majority of them came from the landed gentry. This is also true of quite a large number of those who entered the King's service via the law, since many lawyers in turn came from gentry families. Self-made men, in the sense of those without advantages of birth, connection, or inherited wealth, were few in number, except at the very bottom levels among copying

¹⁶ *The Queen's Wards*, esp. pp. 345-9.

¹⁷ *The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty*, ed. C. H. Hull (1899), i. 77.

¹⁸ In *The King's Servants* (Ch. IV, s. v) I try to explain in some detail how these figures were arrived at.

clerks, artificers, and menial servants. The number of men even from such indisputably middle-class groups as the yeomanry, and the citizenry of London and other towns was small. Amongst the gentry, all ranks were represented, and all gradations of wealth. Nor, within the gentry does there seem to have been that preponderance of younger sons among the office-holders which one might have expected from some generalizations about the effects of primogeniture in England.

Incidentally, the peerage was very well represented in Caroline administration, and not only at the very top. But there were absolutely so few peers that even so, they comprised only a fairly small fraction of all the courtiers, legal officers, and administrators. Office-holding may perhaps be said to have affected the peerage more than vice versa.

In social terms the most remarkable, or anyway the most obvious aspects of the system are:

- (1) the uneven geographical distribution of office-holders,
- (2) their rise in status during their careers, and
- (3) the age pattern among them.

Although the Household and some other branches of the government still moved about with the King, office was one of the factors which drew men to London (including here Westminster and the suburbs), and to the home counties around London. A large proportion of office-holders actually originated in London and the home counties, but an overwhelming number ended up there. Many had a town house as well as a country property, but some just had lodgings in the capital, or lived at Court. Of course, the home counties had the attraction for office-holders of being within easier reach, besides the land market there being more fluid; the main exception was the founding of estates in Ireland. This regional difference may help to explain the allegiance of some office-holders during the Civil War.

Leaving aside for the moment the question of how far office was *the* touchstone of economic health within the gentry, it did indisputably act as what some sociologists might call a 'built-in status-elevator'. Most office-holders rose by one degree in the social hierarchy, many by two or more. Men who started out with a dubious claim to the title of Gentleman (the lowest armigerous rank), won a safe right to call themselves Esquire. Further up the ladder Knighthoods proliferated; and at the top Professor Trevor-Roper was certainly correct in pointing out how many of the 'new peers' of 1603-40 had made their way up wholly or partly via office-holding.¹⁹ But it seems unlikely that there was a large enough number of men rising into the gentry, and up through its various ranks, because of holding office, to constitute a major change in social structure. At the very top where the absolute numbers were small: yes. But in the middle ranks where the office-holders numbered some hundreds, and the gentry, according to one

¹⁹ *The Gentry*, pp. 10-13.

reckoning, 16,000 families:²⁰ scarcely so. And at the very bottom, where the intake of self-made men through office was relatively small, it does not begin to account for any large-scale 'rise into the gentry' such as Professors Tawney and Trevor-Roper agree in visualizing. Obviously it was a factor in this particular rise, along with several others.

This is perhaps the point at which to say a little more about the economic, as opposed to the social significance of office, especially in relation to the armigerous land owners. As well as the £250,000-£300,000 or more received yearly by office-holders in fees and gratuities, their receipts *from the Crown* in all forms (including payments in kind and perquisites, as well as grants and pensions), may be estimated at the money equivalent of about £340,000-£360,000 per annum.²¹ So their total income from the Crown and the public, in money and in kind, was at least £590,000 per annum, and probably well over £650,000. A very large amount; and of course for some individuals, and even for some whole families, the wealth gained from office was the decisive factor in their fortunes. But to see this in perspective for a whole class, let alone for the whole country, one has to set it against the probable income of the peerage and gentry from other sources, mainly from land. For the English lay peers Mr. J. P. Cooper has recently suggested a minimum figure of £732,000 per annum from landed wealth towards 1642.²² And if there were 16,000 gentry families, averaging a landed income of only £300 per annum each (which is almost certainly too low a figure), we get a minimum for them of £4,800,000 a year from land; my own preference would be for a figure of more like £6,000,000. This must be set against office-holding, worth at a guess about £80,000 a year for the peers, and perhaps between £450,000 and £500,000 for the gentry. To say that, at any one time in these years, approximately 800 members of the gentry held offices with a gross annual value of £450,000-£500,000 implies that they enjoyed an average income from this source of between £560 and £625 a year each; but without qualification this would be misleading. Not only was a large part of it not paid in cash, but the average is distorted by a relatively small number of highly lucrative offices, worth say £2,000 a year and upwards; if we deduct these, the average drops steeply. These figures then begin to assume a rather more modest significance than if we just go on talking, in isolation or in the abstract, about the inflated incomes of office-holders, and the vast profits of office. Furthermore, living in London, maintaining their foothold on the patronage ladder, and generally competing in Veblenesque expenditure, meant that office-holders were more likely to live at the

²⁰ Thomas Wilson, in 1600 ('The State of England', ed. F. J. Fisher, *Camden Miscellany*, xvi. 1936). The probable total number of gentry in the country is a difficult problem, which I have discussed more fully in relation to the social composition of the office-holding body (*The King's Servants*, Ch. V, s. iv).

²¹ See above, n. 18.

²² In *Encounter*, xi. 3 (1958), 73-4.

limits of their incomes, or beyond them, than their country cousins. Their large incomes *may* have meant that they enjoyed a more opulent standard of living; but did not necessarily mean that they were in a healthier economic position, or had a better chance of founding a great land-owning dynasty. (This last seems in any case to have been largely a matter of demographic luck—or, if you like, of biological fitness.)

The age composition of the office-holding body, while less spectacular, is also worth some attention. The system of life tenure must of course be related to the absence of anything corresponding to retirement pensions, and to the desire to hang on, sometimes for the usual reasons evident among politicians then as now, and sometimes simply until a holder's son was old enough to succeed him. All these factors together made for a good number of elderly office-holders. This was partly offset by the relatively high mortality rate, especially in the lower ranks, in that London and its environs probably suffered worse than the country at large from the periodic outbreaks of plague and other epidemics. Even so, Charles I still had with him in the 1630s not merely a great many office-holders from the Buckingham period (1618–28) but many from earlier in his father's reign, and even a few from before 1603.

This was particularly important in relation to the political climacteric of 1628–9. Under this heading may be included the death of Buckingham, the dissolution of Charles's third parliament, the ascendancy of the pro-Spanish faction in the Council, the rise of Laud and the Arminians, and the deliberate attempt to rule for an indefinite period without Parliament. It is easy to say that changes in the economy and social structure must be related to political and religious history; but it is often difficult to apply this principle in practice. Here is an instance where a specific social factor, namely age, can be directly related to politics.

The system of tenure and the general way in which posts in the King's service were regarded, meant that there was no corresponding change of personnel at the middle levels consequent upon this change of policy at the top in 1628–9. Only gradually, in the course of the Personal Government, did the accidents of mortality and the coming to maturity of a new generation begin to give the King a civil service more of whose members approved of his policies, and were ready to support him in a crisis.

It should not be thought that all the older officials were against the policies and methods of the Personal Government, or that all the younger ones were in favour of them. But looking ahead to the Civil War, I think that there was enough correlation, especially in the middle ranks, to be statistically significant, between date of appointment and allegiance, and between age and allegiance;²³ the older and more senior men tending less, the younger and junior ones more to royalism.

²³ This is true even discounting those only appointed in 1641.

So that as Brunton and Pennington showed,²⁴ by 1640 time was, in a literal sense, on the King's side.

It is hard to measure the effectiveness of the largely passive disapproval of royal and Laudian policy in the 1630s. But there are signs that those who were dragging their feet included some in key positions. There is particularly good evidence, namely from their utterances in the Parliaments of the 1620s, that several of them were, if not Puritans (depending on how that word is to be defined), at least militant low church protestants. And there is fairly good, though admittedly less clear evidence that some of them were 'constitutionalists', in the sense that they believed, perhaps mistakenly or unrealistically, but not on that account any less firmly, in some kind of balance between Crown, Parliament, and Law. This they imagined to have existed under the Tudors—failing that—then under the Lancastrians, or conceivably—for some of them—in an even earlier epoch. Men of such religious and constitutional views would tend to be firmly against the Crown in 1640, but would prove to be deeply divided in 1641-2, partly according to whether they thought that Charles or his opponents were upsetting this largely mythical balance. Therefore when Parliament did re-assemble in 1640 many office-holders had no wish to defend what had been done in the previous eleven years; indeed several of them were mainly concerned to avoid being brought to book for their own activities under the Personal Government, and their share of responsibility for its policies. This produced a kind of *sauve qui peut* atmosphere among officials, which contributed to the weakness and demoralization of the King's party in 1640-1, although by 1642 this particular motive had more or less exhausted itself.

There seem to be three ways in which the system of office-holding can be thought of as having interacted with politics. Of course this is only a convenient classification, and the same individuals might be involved in any two, or in all three of them. First, the vested interests of office-holders as such (some of which have been outlined earlier in this paper), might be affected by royal policy, and this might lead to lack of enthusiasm, or even to opposition inside the administration. Second, there was the possibility of ideological opposition from within the government, made likelier by life tenure and the absence of any division between politicians and civil servants. Third, arising in part from both these, in part from the clash of rival cliques and factions for control of patronage, and in part from the undoubted material and prestige attractions of office-holding: the struggle for power and place as ends in themselves might assume political significance. To over-emphasize the third of these can lead to the whole of history being interpreted in terms of a conflict between the 'Ins' and the 'Outs'. And even within the more modest limits of a study of office-holding we should beware of exaggerating this, at the expense of the other two

²⁴ In *Members of the Long Parliament* (1954).

forms of interaction. The struggle for office was certainly an important, and in some individual cases, a decisive influence. In particular, men who had for different reasons and in various ways been deprived of office, ejected from it, or even passed over for advancement, tended to be hostile towards the King and were prominent among his opponents in 1640-2. But exceptions can be found even here, among these game-keepers turned poachers.²⁵

Any general attempt to represent the Civil War as a struggle between the 'Ins' and the 'Outs', in terms of pre-1642 office-holders, is hard to reconcile with the facts. Among the 'outsiders', masses of lesser gentry of the West and North who had never had a smell of office before 1640-2, stood by their King and their Church through thick and thin. While on the other hand, among the 'insiders', a substantial minority were active parliamentarians, and many more were passive supporters of Parliament, neutrals, or trimmers.

With some office-holders this was a matter of geography and of habit. The officials of the Household departments were more used to following the King away from London, and relatively more of them did so in 1642. By contrast, it was a much more positive and drastic step for those in the law courts and the other departments of state, who were not used to moving about with the royal court, to go to join the King at York or Oxford, than for them to remain at their normal places of work and of residence, in London or Westminster. This was further accentuated by so many of them also having their landed property in the Parliament's quarters, in the counties around London. On this score, too, they may well have felt that they stood to lose less by staying put. But it would be wrong to give the impression that the way office-holders behaved in 1642 was just a matter of geography and habit. Many of those who supported Parliament during the Civil War seem to have done so for reasons of religious or constitutional principle.

Some difference in allegiance can also be discerned between first and younger sons. Eldest sons seem to have been more inclined to royalism, younger sons less so. But without comparative figures for other social groups, I hesitate to say whether this is better regarded as a significant fact about office-holders or about the political effects of family relationships.²⁶

As far as I can interpret it, the evidence concerning office-holders does not provide support for classifying royalists and parliamentarians respectively either as rising and declining gentry (or vice versa), or still less as feudal and bourgeois land-owners. This is not for a moment to

²⁵ As with the other statements made here about the political allegiance of office-holders, it is difficult to substantiate this without giving long lists of names. Sir Anthony Weldon of Kent (see *D.N.B.*; A. M. Everitt, *The County Committee of Kent* (1957)) may be cited as the classical parliamentarian ex-office-holder; George Mynne, ex-Clerk of the Hanaper (see H. C. Maxwell-Lyte, *Historical Notes on the uses of the Great Seal* (1926), p. 285) will serve for the exceptions.

²⁶ This apparent difference may also arise partly from the nature of the sources, and from eldest sons having found it harder to avoid commitment or conceal their allegiance.

deny that, as with everybody else, material interests affected officials' political and religious attitudes. This was so under the Personal Government, and during the peaceful revolution of 1640-1, as well as at the outbreak of Civil War in 1642 and during its subsequent course. It is only to say that the analysis of these material interests does not seem to support any single generalized explanation of why there was a revolution in 1640, or a Civil War in 1642, and of what these were about.

To conclude on a slightly more positive note: to some extent the administrative system did act as a brake on royal freedom of action. How much is very hard to say. Perhaps less than in France, where the monarchy was both more powerful, and more hamstrung by an administrative system of which it was at once the beneficiary and the victim.²⁷ In England, office-holding generally acted as a conservative vested interest, the benefits of which were mainly enjoyed by a segment of the upper class, that is, the armigerous land-owners. It is significant that would-be absolute rulers, like Charles I and Strafford, trenched on this vested interest in some of the same ways as would-be reformers during the Civil War and Interregnum. The radical Independents (like Hugh Peter), the Levellers, and the seekers after law reform under the Commonwealth, all made suggestions which, if put into effect, would have gravely threatened the old administrative system. And even the Long Parliament itself took some tentative steps to increase the size and number of salaries, and to reduce the dependence of office-holders on fees and gratuities. But, although there were striking and important temporary changes, such as the system of rule by Committees, no radically different system was established, at any rate not firmly enough to endure through the Protectorate. From this point of view 1654 does seem to have been a step towards 1660 and the victory of oligarchy. Besides the well-known institutional changes carried over from 1641, there may have been more non-gentry officials after 1660 than before 1640. Yet in many essential respects the system of office-holding continued unchanged, and endured for another century or more.

Under Charles I the political influence and social significance of this system were not always positive or clear cut. But its study may at least help us to understand some otherwise puzzling aspects of English history in the 1620s and '30s, and also in the fateful years 1640 to 1660.

²⁷ See R. Mousnier, *La Vénalité des offices sous Henri IV et Louis XIII* (1945).

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE EDITOR APOLOGIZES to subscribers for the late appearance of this number of *History*, which is due to the dispute in the printing industry.

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Two of the most respected among American historians of the last generation were Carl Becker and Charles Beard. Evidence of the significance of their work and thought may be seen in the fact that there is still keen interest in it, and that it is still being hotly disputed. Recently a volume of Becker's papers and letters—DETACHMENT AND THE WRITING OF HISTORY: ESSAYS AND LETTERS OF CARL L. BECKER (Cornell University Press: O.U.P. 1959. xvi + 240 pp. 28s.) edited by Phil L. Snyder—has been produced, including some of his most characteristic writing; and in 1956 a conference at Colgate University was devoted to a discussion of Becker's best-known work, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers*. The papers have now been edited by Professor Raymond O. Rockwood under the title CARL BECKER'S HEAVENLY CITY REVISITED (Cornell University Press. 1958. xxxii + 227 pp.). The attraction of Becker's personality emerges from the contributions of all who knew him. The editor speaks of the 'indelible impression' he made, of his 'urbane wit, polished charm and shrewd penetration'. But he also points out some defects in Becker's outlook, and the essays which follow contain much more criticism than acceptance.

Among the speakers at the symposium, Professor Bruun gives a sympathetic account of Becker as a man and a teacher. Professor John Hall Stewart regards the *Heavenly City* as his 'great work', but hints at the possibility that its author 'may have been guilty of too much assumption or too little reading'. Professor Leo Gershoy treats the book as the work of a disillusioned liberal and writes a defence of Becker from this point of view. Only Professor Louis Gottschalk (in a reported speech) explicitly upholds the historical soundness of Becker's work. On the other hand a series of contributors—Henry Guerlac, Peter Gay, Walter L. Dorn, R. R. Palmer, Ralph H. Bowen, Edward Whiting Fox—draw up, with varying degrees of severity, a well-documented and pretty decisive indictment of the *Heavenly City*. It had, concludes Mr. Gay, 'every virtue save one, the virtue of being right'.

At this point we may begin to sympathize with Carl Becker, for after all, which of us *is* right, in the long run and always? Moreover there was a good deal that is attractive in his outlook. We have long since learnt to accept his rejection of history as a simple record of the 'facts', and to agree that all the history that has been, is, or ever will be written, is relative to the mind and environment of the historian. Becker was rightly reacting against a rather absurd historical determinism, such as was expressed in Henry Adams' *The Degradation of Democratic Dogma*, and against the claims of 'scientific' history.

He was joined in this campaign, though from a different angle, by Charles

Beard, whose major work of historical interpretation is now also under severe attack. The two historians are considered together in the latest of the volumes of Wallace Notestein Essays published by Yale University Press. *THE PRAGMATIC REVOLT IN AMERICAN HISTORY: CARL BECKER AND CHARLES BEARD* (Yale University Press: O.U.P. 1959. 182 pp. 28s.) by Cushing Strout, is an interesting and thoughtful study. The author sees both Becker and Beard as escaping from nineteenth-century dogmatism only at the price of a destructive scepticism. For Becker, he says, the historian's mind reflects not cold facts but the dominant social forces of the day; while for Beard meaning is given to the facts of history only by their economic sub-structure. They both, says Mr. Strout, 'reveal the plight of pragmatic relativism'.

I should like to push this argument a little farther, for, as indeed Mr. Strout points out, scepticism is not the last word of either historian. Becker, he says, believes that the historian must begin with a synthesis to control his relativism, and this is obviously what he has done in the *Heavenly City*; while Beard envisages history as moving towards 'collectivist democracy'. Here, I think, we begin to see both why their work was so influential when it appeared, and why it has proved unsatisfying in such a short space of time. To those who saw the accumulation of historical detail rapidly growing into a trackless and impenetrable jungle, they offered clear-cut and convincing ways through, Beard in his economic interpretation of the American Revolution and the origins of the Constitution, Becker in seeing the thought of the eighteenth-century *philosophes* as a secularized version of medieval Christianity. A few critics, who happened to know more of the subjects discussed, remained unconvinced at the time, and their number has increased, for these were not really very profound interpretations. It is not easily possible to believe that either Beard or Becker had a strong grasp of theory. The attraction of their ideas lay in their brilliant simplicity.

There is nothing wrong, of course, in starting with a bright idea; the trouble comes in stopping with it; and herein lies, I believe, the second and fundamental weakness. Historical research with no ideas behind it is bad; but ideas with no historical research behind them are even worse. What personal factors there may have been to explain the lack of this in each case, I do not know; but the fact is that neither Becker nor Beard undertook the basic research that was necessary to establish, develop, modify, or even change their simple initial assumptions. There is no evidence in the *Heavenly City* that Carl Becker had read more than a comparatively small and select body of eighteenth-century writings, or that he had paid any serious attention to secondary works at all. No wonder it is possible for the contributors to Mr. Rockwood's symposium to pick out point after point on which his statements are simply not in accord with the facts. Becker's contempt for the 'mere' facts was salutary, but in so far as this also involved a neglect of critically established historical evidence, the facts have had their revenge. Beard's economic assertions about the American revolutionaries, now that they are being subjected to critical examination, are also proving largely baseless, it seems.¹

The problem now is not so much whether there is, or is not, any remaining

¹ See Robert E. Brown's *Charles Beard and the Constitution*, reviewed *supra*, xliii. 76-7, and Forrest McDonald's *We the People*, reviewed in the present number, p. 293.

historical validity in Becker's *Heavenly City* or Beard's economic interpretation of the American Constitution, but rather to explain the initial easy acceptance of views which have been shown to be backed by so little evidence. Partly, I suppose, it was because, in welcoming the rejection of a past dogmatism, we did not appreciate that a new dogmatism was being substituted for it. Even more, it may have been because the tendencies of both writers in different ways, and even despite themselves, fell in with the anti-rational and anti-liberal spirit of the 'thirties. Becker recovered from this in the end, but Beard never did. It is ironic that they should now both appear as extreme examples of the historical relativism which they correctly diagnosed; and that the great popularity and influence which they won because they were so thoroughly in tune with their own time should now be fast disappearing for the same reason.

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Dr. V. B. Reckitt writes: 'Lt. Col. A. H. Burne, who died on 2 June 1959, was commissioned in the Royal Artillery in 1906. He won the D.S.O. and a bar in the First World War, and served again from 1939 to 1942. He joined the Historical Association in 1940, and had been a member of Council since 1951. He had a passionate devotion to the English countryside and had astonishing ability in reconstructing the landscape of the past from that of today, and in linking it with the written sources of our military history. Among his many historical articles and books, his *Battlefields of England* most aptly reflects his intense interest in this aspect of topography, on which he was the leading authority. He communicated this interest to most of the people who joined the unique series of Tours which he organized for the Association. No one who walked with him will ever forget the hunting horn, the barbed wire, the eager scramble up the precipitous slopes of some hill-fort, and the enthusiasm with which Col. Burne would argue a tactical problem with anyone, however ignorant. He loved young people, and he loved his Tours; they brought him much joy and many friends, in whose lives there is now a sense of irreparable loss. He concluded his last Tour six weeks before his death, having insisted, against advice, on going on with it. I have reason to know that he felt it was worth while.'

REVIEWS AND SHORT NOTICES

ANCIENT

HELLENISM: THE HISTORY OF A CIVILIZATION. By Arnold J. Toynbee.

O.U.P., Home University Library. 1959. xiv + 255 pp. 7s. 6d.

This book has enjoyed a long gestation: it was conceived in 1914. In some ways it comes very near to being old-fashioned, for it covers the ground of a traditional 'history of the classical world'. Crete, Mycenae and Byzantium are all left very much on the periphery, not, one need scarcely add, through ignorance or lack of interest, but because Toynbee believes the 'classical world' to constitute a unity with an organic development similar to that of a living creature or a tragedy. He opens with 'the plot of the play'; at the end we are invited to survey barbarians trampling over the corpse of a suicide. What lies between is both stimulating and extremely readable, despite an odd trick of deliberate deflation ('love and wine', a theme of poets, becomes 'sex and alcohol'). But can Toynbee's pattern really be superimposed on Greeks, Macedonians—and Romans? The playing down of Rome is perhaps the least satisfactory feature of the book, and certainly causes distortion. The bibliography tells a clear story. Three pages of Greek authors in translation are followed by Livy and Cato on *Agriculture*. No Sallust, no Cicero, no Virgil, no Tacitus, no Juvenal! Captured Greece has not only taken captive her fierce captor; she has swallowed him up without a trace. This false emphasis persists throughout. Cologne and Lincoln are 'Hellenic city-states in Latin dress'; Arikamedu is a 'Hellenic commercial emporium'; Caesar's conquest of Gaul is part of the havoc of 'Hellenism's agonies'. It may be argued that this is only a matter of terminology, and that Toynbee defines his terms. But chalk does not become cheese by being called cheese, and Rome is not to be absorbed into a history of Hellenism without causing what most people would regard as a distortion in perspective—as when the *pax Romana* and the Roman empire are treated as an institution which appeared 500 years too late.

In a book on this scale some errors are inevitable and venial; this, as Polybius saw, is one of the penalties of writing universal history. But the interpretation of the Greek 'dark ages' as a victory of lowland farmers over highland shepherds seems dangerously oversimplified. The narrative seems to be here concerned with the struggles of conquest and pre-conquest peoples; but the Mycenaean were far from being highland shepherds. A more serious point concerns the Chalcidian Confederacy. It is not true, Larsen has shown, that its citizens were also citizens of Olynthus. Hence the Chalcidians did *not* anticipate the Roman invention of dual citizenship, and the Roman civilizing of central Europe remains something more than the finishing off of a job the Chalcidians just missed doing. The emphasis here is symptomatic of Toynbee's usual attitude towards Rome, which he treats as a heterogeneous affair with most of its features already foreshadowed somewhere in

Greece. On Alexander he seems not to have made up his mind. (He is in general not very interested in personalities.) It is left uncertain whether he conceived the idea of the brotherhood of man (Tarn) or merely a Macedonian-Persian condominium. Toynbee seems to regard the second as the first 'in practical terms'; but neither really squares with the 'incorrigible barbarian' on page 128. Sheer blunders are rare; but the Hellenic admiral in the Persian War was a Spartan, not a Corinthian.

As the writer of a tragedy Toynbee exercises his artist's right to select and emphasize to suit his purpose (e.g. fourteen pages on 478-404, two on 404-338); he also develops a trick of abstraction which may be dangerous if it leads an unwary reader to regard metaphors as explanations (e.g. the eruption of the 'explosive Hellenic spirit that lies buried but not extinct beneath the Christian or Islamic surface of a "Hellenistic civilization"' may be thought to account for the Renaissance). But these are risks worth taking for the excitement of reading a highly individual essay, which cannot fail to stimulate the imagination (as well as to arouse the wrath) of even the most sceptical reader.

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F. W. WALBANK

ROMAN AND NATIVE IN NORTH BRITAIN. Ed. I. A. Richmond. Edinburgh: Nelson, 1957. x + 174 pp. 18s.

This valuable symposium contains chapters by five distinguished scholars summarizing chronologically the present state of knowledge on the development of the Roman Frontier in North Britain from the third quarter of the first century to the end of the fourth. It illustrates the extent to which the work of the past twenty years has confirmed, modified or superseded the conclusions to which Collingwood gave expression in his classic treatment of the subject in 1937. Since then our understanding of known Roman sites has been much improved, their number and the range of their distribution has been very greatly increased, and a more careful study of the native fortifications and settlements contemporary with them has illustrated more fully the varying reactions of the different northern tribes at different periods to the challenge of the Roman advance. This new knowledge is here admirably summarized even if 'North Britain' in this context means primarily the forward areas centring on the Hadrianic and Antonine Walls rather than the more southerly regions of Brigantia.

In the opening chapter Professor Stuart Piggott distinguishes sharply between the corn-growing economy of southern Britain in immediately Pre-Roman times and the cattle-raising and pastoral life of the north. He rightly draws attention to the supply problem which this distinction posed for the Roman command once the south and midlands had been occupied. Roman armies lived largely on corn and expected to find the bulk of their supplies in the lands they conquered. In Britain there was little or no corn grown from Brigantia northwards, and so everything for the armies had to be brought in bulk from the south, a fact which may well explain, as much as the difficult terrain or the toughness of the northern tribes, the failure of successive attempts to conquer Scotland. John Clarke's chapter on the first of these failures between 80 and 122 is somewhat lacking in detail on the controversies surrounding the campaigns of Agricola and the duration of his conquests after his recall. J. P. Gillam rejects the main feature of

Collingwood's interpretation of Antonine policy in North Britain, the notion that the advance to the new wall was intended primarily to cover the deliberate weakening of the lowland tribes by large-scale deportations to Germany: it may well be that Collingwood overestimated the extent to which the Hadrianic frontier was actively manned after the Antonine Wall was built, but the case for extensive deportations is not dependent on this, and requires more positive evidence to discredit it than Gillam produces. Dr. Steer develops in an interesting way the evidence for the success of Severan policy in giving North Britain a long period of peace in the third century, and Professor Richmond stresses the extent to which the essentials of this policy were broadened in the fourth century by the creation of client kingdoms beyond the official limits of the Empire. By a slip he reverses the respective positions and fates of Nectaridus and Fullofaudes in the *barbarica conspiratio* of 367 (p. 121), as the text of Ammianus printed in a footnote on the same page shows, and there are misprints in the Latin texts quoted in the footnotes to p. 129. It is a little disappointing that Professor Richmond does not pursue the fortunes of the northern frontier further into the fifth century, as the title of his chapter ('... the fourth century and after') might lead one to expect. His final chapter on the Ancient Geographical Sources and its Appendix include a valuable study of the North British section of the Geography of Ptolemy.

Bodleian Library, Oxford

J. N. L. MYRES

IN LIFE AND DEATH IN THE BRONZE AGE: AN ARCHÆOLOGIST'S FIELD-WORK (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1959. xxvii + 193 pp. 45s.) Sir Cyril Fox gives an account of a considerable number of Bronze Age sites, mostly in Wales. Apart from the fascination of the detailed, technical description of the actual excavations, which are traced through their successive stages, there is also a scholarly discussion of what they reveal of the people whose traces on this world have thus been literally uncovered. The book is lavishly illustrated with excellent photographs, plans and maps.

The chapters of ROMAN POLITICAL IDEAS AND PRACTICES (University of Michigan Press; London: Mayflower Publishing Co. 1959. 120 pp. 32s.) by Professor Sir Frank E. Adcock retain all the sparkle and wit of the lecture-room. They reflect the wide knowledge and balanced judgement which ancient historians have for so long found in the author's work. He is often, like the Romans themselves, more concerned with political practice than theory as he illumines the manner in which their institutions portray the social and ethical ideas embodied in their national character. Of two dominant ideas, *dignitas*, the claim of the great man, and *libertas*, the claim of the small man, he regards the former as 'the most constant ingredient in the active political history of the Republic'.

MEDIEVAL

ORIGINS OF THE MEDIEVAL WORLD by William Carroll Bark (Stanford University Press: O.U.P. 1958. 162 pp. 30s.) is a provocative essay in interpretation, designed 'to clear away . . . the debris of views and opinions no longer tenable'. In plainer terms, it is another, by this time belated, attack

on Pirenne. More positively, it leans heavily on, but hardly equals, Ferdinand Lot's well-known volume on *The End of the Ancient World* (1927). As an essay, it might have been more successful if less polemical and more patient. The author's central thesis seems to be that 'the regression of civilization in the West from the Roman level was a fortunate occurrence'. Such an argument is para-historical; how it can be demonstrated is not self-evident. Nor is it clear for whom regression was fortunate. 'In the long run', we are told, 'the change was worth all it cost'; which seems to imply that it was fortunate for us today, however unfortunate for those who suffered it. Behind this thesis there seem to lie certain political undercurrents regarding the origins of modern liberties which, once again, go beyond the historically demonstrable. The author might have done well to give greater weight to Ranke's warning that 'all generations of humanity have equal weight before God, and this is the way in which the historian also should look at the matter'.

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G. BARRACLOUGH

THE ORIGINS OF RUSSIA. By George Vernadsky. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

1959. 354 pp. 35s.

Professor Vernadsky's purpose in this book is 'to reconsider the ancient background of Russia, as well as the basic trends in the formation and early development of the eastern Slavs and their civilization'. His reconsideration is guided by the concepts of the Eurasian school; he believes that Slav, and hence Russian, civilization is historically connected with the central Asian cultural sphere. The first three chapters of the book are thus devoted to various aspects of this Eurasian world of nomadic steppe peoples in the period prior to A.D. 1000. A chapter on the 'religious' foundations of the old Russian culture is followed by some consideration of the part played by the Vikings in ninth- and tenth-century Russian society and by a final chapter, entitled 'The foundations of the Kievan State', dealing with the influence of Constantinople and Russia's conversion to Christianity.

Much of Professor Vernadsky's book deals with areas which were only incorporated into the Russian state in comparatively recent times. In fact, in his concern to stress the central Asian connections of early Russian history, he neglects the wooded areas of European Russia, almost the only areas occupied by the East Slavs in early medieval times; his attention is concentrated on the steppes. Moreover, the nature of his evidence (linguistic, mythological and epic) compels him to produce a one-sided picture; it almost ignores the enormous body of archæological evidence which is so valuable in giving some picture of the way in which the early Slavs lived. It is not merely that Professor Vernadsky shifts his attention from the area of his title to a linguistic group; he is not consistent in his estimate of the nature of this group. The 'Russes' are sometimes 'a symbiosis of Slavs and Norsemen', sometimes eastern Norsemen.

There is a wealth of interesting and often ingenious speculation on the political and cultural aspects of the early history of the steppe zone, marred by being presented somewhat dogmatically in several instances. But this history is that of ethnic groups and, as Vernadsky himself points out, the ethnic terms 'have really no meaning, except as references to the origin of the royal clan'. In fact this history is concerned with minority, albeit politically dominant, groups. The main mass of tribesmen and peasants, and

how they made a living from the land, are not dealt with in any detail. When he considers the religious beliefs of the early Slavs, as in the section on magic in agriculture, hunting and crafts, Professor Vernadsky does not succeed in giving a convincing picture, largely because of his failure to specify the actual forms of Slav agriculture, hunting and so on. Again, his treatment of social classes seems weak. He considers the Scythians an important element in Russian origins, and points out they had serfs. But he also says that, in tenth-century Russia 'it is only with reservations that one can speak of the existence of social classes'. One would like to know more about this problem, especially since serfdom is so important in later Russian history.

It is difficult to see for whom such a book is intended. Specialists are hardly likely to be satisfied with the presentation of disputed points as if they had been unquestionably settled (e.g. the interpretation of *izgoi* and *bela*). There are a surprising number of misprints for an Oxford publication (the best one refers to the Tower of Bable!); Sedov's report on the Perun sanctuary is not in *KS* 1, but 50 (pp. 164, 332); Goryunova has shown that Berezhnyaki was a Finnish, not Slav, settlement. The general reader will surely have a hard time in finding his way through this presentation of a difficult problem; and his task is not made easier by the absence of a map.

The difficulty of following the presentation, however, has other more deep-seated causes. Professor Vernadsky's tendency here to pay little attention to the physical environment is paralleled by a vagueness as regards chronology. Tacitus is referred to in support of the idea that the first settlers in Germany were not horsemen; no reference is made to the Fat'yanovo culture of the second millennium B.C., which surely represents an original irruption of mounted warriors from central Germany. Trepanation is taken as evidence of skilled surgery in the ninth to tenth centuries and as a hint of contact with central Asia; but this operation is well known from several European neolithic sites. Trade is taken as the basis of the Rus' state; each tribe had its 'share of profits' in 'commercial undertakings' and, of course, a 'serious economic crisis' occurred. Such modernisms do not help towards understanding early Russian society, but rather hinder a sober assessment of the part played by trade in a society the overwhelming majority of whose members lived by subsistence farming and hunting.

There is a fundamental problem behind Professor Vernadsky's speculation and his anti-European historical bias. The history of Mackinder's Heartland involves the question of the interrelationship between many peoples. From the palæolithic stage, European and Mongoloid human types have to some extent intermingled there; the former spread far into what is now Asia in the steppe zone; the latter spread almost to the Baltic through the northern forests. The problem is to account for the emergence of particular forms of human culture in this vast area taking account not only of human physical types, but also of their linguistic groupings (which seems to show a spread from East to West) and their archæological cultures (often showing a spread in the opposite direction). Unfortunately, Professor Vernadsky seems to assume that the spread of one factor in a given direction implies the spread of other factors in the same direction, and so his picture of the origins of Russia fails to achieve the depth one might expect from so eminent a scholar.

STUDIES IN THE EARLY BRITISH CHURCH. By Nora K. Chadwick, Kathleen Hughes, Christopher Brooke and Kenneth Jackson. Ed. by Nora K. Chadwick. Cambridge University Press. 1958. 375 pp. 45s.

The six essays which compose this collection are concerned with the Church in certain Celtic parts of the British Isles roughly from the sixth to the twelfth century. Chapter V, a survey of Irish scriptoria, does not strictly fall within the compass of these studies as defined by their title, but the rest may fairly claim a 'British' unity of theme. Mrs. Chadwick provides an introduction on the nature of the sources used, and then writes on intellectual activity in North Wales in the eighth and ninth centuries, and in West Wales in the eleventh and twelfth. Dr. Hughes discusses the provenance and accounts for the contents of the MS. 'Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium' (Cott. Vespasian A.xiv). Professor Brooke gives an account of the faking of archbishoprics and bishoprics in South Wales in the first half of the twelfth century. Finally, Professor Jackson contributes a straightforward analysis of the sources for the life of Kentigern, renowned, in his homelier name of Mungo, as the patron saint of Glasgow.

These essays plunge us into what at first sight seems a very queer world, considering that they have to deal with the Church which was the teacher and repository of the Christian faith: a world if not of Scribes and Pharisees then at least of scribes and anchorites, of gangs of ingenious crooks, of prelates who never existed, of shadowy saints and saints who were nothing but the conflation of other saints, of patriotic cribbing in international intelligence tests, of the Wild Man in the Caledonian Forest. If an intelligent reader from, say, Tibet were to peruse this volume in the hope of learning something about Christianity in Celtic Britain during what is popularly known as the 'age of faith', he would be left with some highly curious impressions. But of course these studies are ecclesiastical only in a rather special sense. They are concerned with the *Lives*, rather than the lives, of the saints; with book-learning which was incidental to a religious vocation; with the establishment, or attempted establishment, of church organization in which nationalism and feudal particularism might take precedence of the *cura pastoralis*.

There is much to fascinate in these pages, and much that is important for the history of Celtic (and post-Celtic) Britain. Mrs. Chadwick hoes the hardest row: working, in Chapter I, with scanty and scattered material, she tries valiantly to reconstruct something of the intellectual life which, she believes, flourished in Gwynedd in the early ninth century. In Chapter II, which seems to an outsider to be based on firmer ground, she argues convincingly for the pre-eminence of Llanbadarn Fawr and its *familia* as a centre of learning during the first century of Norman rule in England, and explains why it was probably c. 1081 that its most distinguished member, Rhigyfarch, wrote his *Life of St. David*, which offered 'to the homage of the Welsh people a saint who would commend himself to future generations as the most important saint of Wales'. After all this, it is disheartening to be told by Miss Hughes that 'evidence for Welsh scriptoria during the Celtic period is scanty' and 'Welsh manuscripts are few'. The manuscript to which Miss Hughes devotes an admirably clear and concise essay (Chapter III) is not Welsh of the Celtic period, though it tells us much about Celtic Wales: Miss Hughes agrees with the Rev. S. Harris on an immediate provenance in

Monmouth Priory (c. 1200), but makes a good case for a Gloucester Abbey provenance (c. 1130) of much of the contents. Miss Hughes's other contribution, Chapter V, provides a most valuable survey of Irish scriptoria, and shows that a scriptorium flourished where intellectual and spiritual stimuli were buttressed by prolonged material prosperity, as at Armagh and Kildare. Chapter IV is a brilliant and amusing essay by Mr. Brooke, which lays bare the methods used by an ingenious member of the Llancarfan *familia*, probably Caradoc of Llancarfan, to forge not only the Book of Llandaff, but also, as Mr. Brooke puts it, the diocese. Llandaff was a stumbling block to the ambition of Bernard of St. David's to have his see recognized as metropolitan. Mr. Brooke's excellent account of his struggle would have been even better if he had noted the closely parallel contemporary efforts to secure the same privilege for St. Andrews, and the link between Bishop Bernard and the Scots. (Incidentally, how and why was the dedication to St. Andrew, first recorded in 1115, adopted at St. David's?)

If Mr. Brooke refuses to look north of the Border, Mr. Jackson rarely strays south of it. Using the two extant biographies of Kentigern (anon. or 'Herbertian', 1147-64; Jocelyn of Furness, c. 1181), and the Edinburgh and Aberdeen Breviaries, he reconstructs the early sources for the life of the apostle of Strathclyde: A, a basic 'Brittonic' source, c. 1000; B, an early Scottish source linking Kentigern with St. Serf; C, other Scottic material; D, a tale of Kentigern's birth showing detailed Lothian knowledge. That little of the written Kentigern material dates much before 1000 is probable, but it is hard to see why Mr. Jackson is so reluctant to assume, first, that the Herbertian author and Jocelyn used only one Scottic *codicellus*—surely it darkens counsel to posit more than one?—and, secondly, that this *codicellus* was the Scottic *Life* which he would date 1018 X 1115. Underlying these written works was a substratum of widespread popular devotion to St. Mungo. C. 1120, a local jury declared that 'Cunclut' (now Glasgow Green) and 'Penteiacob' (now Eddleston) belonged from of old to the church of Glasgow. At the end of the twelfth century there were dwelling at 'Conglud' one Gillemachoi and his clan, and at Eddleston the priest Cosmungho. As Mr. Jackson brilliantly demonstrates, though without citing these examples, the saint to whom both these men, the one Gaelic, the other Cumbrian, were dedicated was Kentigern. As for the author of D, Mr. Jackson posits a 'Gaelic cleric with Lothian connections', and suggests plausibly that he came from Borthwick, rich in Kentigern traditions, with a church dedicated to him at least from 1198 (not 'fourteenth century', p. 337). His hypothesis would have been greatly strengthened if he had realized that in the twelfth century the lords of Borthwick were also lords of Lyne, ecclesiastically part of St. Kentigern's parish of Stobo, which belonged to the see of Glasgow, and that from c. 1150 to c. 1181 this see pressed vigorously a claim to be patron of Borthwick church. Having credited this author with intimate knowledge of Lothian, it is odd that Mr. Jackson should correct his geography. The Herbertian text says that St. Thaney was pushed from the top of 'Kepduf' hill, three miles from 'Aberlessic', the 'river-mouth of stench'. Pace Mr. Jackson, Watson was right to identify 'Kepduf' with Kilduff in Athelstaneford: it is 'Kipduf' in a charter of c. 1150 (Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, No. 186), and is three miles from Aberlady. Even though 'Aberlessic' and Aberlady are quite distinct names, Watson proposed a meaning

for the latter of 'river-mouth of putrefaction' which Mr. Jackson calls an implausible hypothesis but does not flatly deny. ('Luffenach', Luffness, should presumably be included in any discussion of the name Aberlady.) Despite these small defects, Mr. Jackson's essay puts our knowledge (and ignorance) of Kentigern on much firmer ground than they have ever been.

University College, London G. W. S. BARROW

MEDIEVAL ENGLAND: A NEW EDITION REWRITTEN AND REVISED. Ed. Austin Lane Poole. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1958. xxviii + 661 pp. 70s.

These two volumes belong to the third generation of a family of historical books, which began with the publication by the Clarendon Press, in 1902, of Dr. F. P. Barnard's *Companion to English History (Middle Ages)*. Twenty-two years later, advances in historical knowledge and changes of emphasis had made a new edition necessary and *Medieval England* was published, under the editorship of H. W. C. Davis, to form part of a series of which *Shakespeare's England* is perhaps best known. Six of the original twelve chapters were then written afresh, new ones were added, or old ones enlarged, and the remainder revised. In the present volumes the family likeness is still strong; the inherited features are recognizable, but individual characteristics are marked and the influence of changing environment is apparent. With two exceptions the chapters are entirely new, and one on Science by Dr. Crombie is a necessary and very welcome addition to the scheme inherited from the earlier editors.

The value of Dr. Poole's volumes, like those of his predecessors, lies in their provision, in a convenient form, of information about important matters to which the authors of historical textbooks are unable, as a rule, to devote sufficient space. They are concerned with the material basis of civilization in medieval England, its economic, artistic, intellectual and warlike manifestations and, to a lesser degree than one might perhaps have wished, its social structure and institutions. It is easy to criticize the editor of any such work, and his contributors, on the score of their omissions, but it would indeed be very difficult to find any real consensus of opinion among historians, teachers and the reading public as to precisely all that should or should not find a place in it. We may therefore note with interest, rather than stricture, that we are given an insight into the structure of the Church, but not of feudal society; the development of trade and industry but not agrarian organization; town government but not other forms of local secular administration; weapons, tactics and strategy but not logistics or war finance.

It is, however, a pity that the domestic buildings, so admirably described by Mr. Colvin, remain, as far as these volumes are concerned, substantially unfurnished and their inhabitants, though fully, even luxuriously, clothed, inadequately fed. While the art of the armourer receives extensive treatment at the hands of Sir James Mann, with fine illustrations, the humbler craft of the potter, no less important for students in the developing field of medieval archæology, does not even find a place in the index. While a chapter on science is now included, the history of medicine and the effects of epidemic and other diseases receive scant attention. When, for example, Mr. Colvin remarks upon the excellent insulating qualities of straw thatch and its cosiness, so gratifying to the medieval cottager, it is important to

realize also that it contributed its considerable quota to the spread of bubonic plague by providing a snug lodgement for the black rat. Matters that are omitted where one would look for them are often encountered with unexpected pleasure in another chapter. One reader at least regrets an omission from Dr. Poole's own interesting chapter on 'Recreations', since 'the dysporte & game of anglynge is the very meanes and cause that enducith a man in to a mery spyryte'. It is in the chapter on science that the *Treatyse of Fysshynge with an Angle* and the *Boke of St. Albans* are mentioned, and it is in this context, too, that reference is made to Walter of Henley's *Hosebondrie*.

Uniformity of treatment has not been aimed at, and the contributors have been given the widest discretion in the arrangement of their material and the choice of illustrations. They have naturally placed their individual interpretations upon the tasks assigned to them and consequently there is some overlapping, as for example between the chapters on 'Domestic Architecture and Town-Planning' and 'Towns and Trade'. The mutual supplementation which results is valuable, but these volumes are essentially collections of independent essays. The chapters surviving from the edition of 1924 are those on 'Printed Books, the Book Trade, and Libraries' by Mr. Strickland Gibson and on 'Coinage' by G. C. Brooke. The latter, revised by Mr. R. H. Dolley, contains new material, relating especially to the coins of the Pre-Conquest period.

To single out chapters for individual mention is invidious, but three may be noted for a special reason. They are closer than most of the others to what might be called the main stream of 'straight' history, and they illustrate the writers' varying interpretations of their task. Dr. W. G. Hoskins has been assigned the section that was done by George Townshend Warner in the editions of 1902 and 1924, but where the latter wrote simply of agrarian history and society, the former has dealt with human geography. Readers in search of information about manorial economy must turn elsewhere, and this is perhaps a pity, since few historical subjects have changed so much as agrarian history in recent years; but they will certainly study it with deeper understanding after reading Dr. Hoskins's delightful essay on 'The English Landscape'. Professor Carus-Wilson has contributed a study of 'Towns and Trade' which provides a generous slice of economic history and much that is valuable on social life and town government. A beginner could find no more useful brief introduction to the subject. Professor Knowles has written a concise and masterly essay on 'Religious Life and Organization', which provides the essential background of such a great deal of medieval life and history. Seldom has so much information been presented so lucidly in such a small space. These chapters, like all the others, have useful bibliographies appended.

A number of minor discrepancies may be found, and occasionally an assertion that brings one to a pause, such as that the maritime empire of Cnut was the paramount power in Europe, or that between A.D. 500 and 1200 Europe changed at least as much as between A.D. 1200 and 1900. Questions are sometimes suggested to which answers are not provided; and perhaps that is as it should be. Why, for example, was it that the guildhalls of English cities 'rarely equalled the "hôtels de ville" of northern France and the Netherlands in architectural distinction'? Doubts are raised in one or two instances. Was it ever really practicable to make a clinker-built boat

with a framework 'fitted after the planking had been assembled'? If so, one has all the greater admiration for the courage of those hardy folk who put off in the Nydam boat—especially as it is figured (Vol. I, p. 172) with its rowlocks so arranged that it could only have been propelled (if at all) by oarsmen facing for'ard and pushing instead of pulling.

The illustrations are, in the main, excellent and beautifully reproduced. An exception is the Gough map, which does not easily lend itself to clear reproduction on this scale and, since its cartographer viewed his England from the west, it is, for practical purposes, shown upside down. A number of illustrations has been preserved from both the earlier editions, in many instances with justification, but occasionally not. The old military history maps for the battles of Crécy and Poitiers, for example, now look rather clumsy and old-fashioned. The descriptions of the plates are too often irritatingly inadequate. Thus, while in plate 116 'Latin book-hand. Life and Miracles of St. Augustine by Goscelin, a monk of St. Augustine's . . . (Maunde Thompson Fac. 176. British Museum, MS. Cotton Vespasian B.XX)' Professor Galbraith, as always, tells us what we need to know, in another chapter, plate 39, 'Rebekah on camel', merely assures us that the creature is not an ostrich. Turning to the list of plates we find only the reference 'Munich MS. Cod. Lat. 835, photograph by Kunstinstitut, Marburg', which does not enlighten us about the nature of the manuscript or its date.

These, however, are minor faults. Dr. Poole's two handsomely produced volumes are indeed valuable. Dr. Barnard said, in the preface to his *Companion*, that 'although this volume is designed primarily for higher educational purposes, it is believed that it will also prove of interest to the reading public at large'. Dr. Poole's volumes admirably serve the same purposes, and will grace the shelves of school and university libraries no less than those of the book-buying public.

University of Birmingham

H. A. CRONNE

CHURCH, KINGSHIP, AND LAY INVESTITURE IN ENGLAND, 1089-1135.

By Norman F. Cantor. Princeton University Press: Oxford University Press. 1958. xiv + 349 pp. 48s.

We are told on the dust-jacket that 'The book is based on an exhaustive study of the sources, which are fully cited and analyzed, and on a thorough knowledge of the modern literature on the Anglo-Norman monarchy and the Gregorian reform movement'; and there is no false modesty either on the covers or within. Let it be said at once that Dr. Cantor has some important points to make, but makes them in a rather irritating and technically unsatisfactory way.

The theme is essentially a study of the relations between the English kings, the English bishops, and the popes during Anselm's archiepiscopate. The introductory chapter, the narrative chapters (which are mainly a critique of Eadmer's historical writings in the light of the other sources), and the final chapter (on the church after the settlement of the investiture dispute) are interesting but do not alter much the accepted picture. In Chapter IV.5, however, Dr. Cantor defends Böhmer's original attribution of the 'Anonymous Tracts' to Gerard archbishop of York against Böhmer's later hesitation and G. H. Williams's theory that they were written in Normandy, possibly in

part by Archbishop William of Rouen. He seems to make a good case. Then in Chapter V he destroys the generally accepted thesis that the English compromise over investitures owed something to Ivo of Chartres and/or Hugh of Fleury. The texts appear to bear him out. He attributes the solution—the king's surrender of investiture by ring and staff and his retention of homage—to practical men in the royal *curia*, perhaps Henry I himself. And he suggests that Pope Paschal II abandoned his principles because he was anxious that Henry should give help to Bohemund's Crusade.

Because of these important contributions and a few other observations which show that Dr. Cantor has good critical powers, it is most regrettable that the book has grave faults. Dr. Cantor is rather too inclined to point out that other historians have missed some scrap of information which he himself parades, and he tends to be severe on others. This uncharitableness was unwise. Although the footnotes and bibliography give evidence of wide reading, he is rash in some of his judgements, makes errors himself, is inaccurate in detail, and blunders his Latin quotations. He prefers Böhmer's view of the late O.E. church to Professor Darlington's (p. 34, n. 109). He accepts uncritically Professor Offler's view that the account we have of the trial of Bishop William of Durham (which he cites on p. 250 as *De Iniuste Vexatione*) is quite untrustworthy, and rather naively argues that since the bishop later became a supporter of the king against Anselm it is *a priori* improbable that he should have taken a Gregorian position in 1088 (p. 32, n. 100). But men use the ideas which suit their purpose; and Dr. Cantor himself suggests that in 1095 the bishop tried to get Anselm suspended on the grounds that the Archbishop had accepted investiture from a schismatic king and consecration from schismatic bishops. Here is the most unblushing opportunism.

The proof reading of the notes has been slack, and the numerous Latin quotations cannot be taken on trust.¹ This carelessness reduces confidence in Dr. Cantor's scholarship, all the more since on p. 164 he translates 'Ne abbates faciant milites' as 'Abbots were precluded from becoming knights'. This book will be used, but without pleasure.

University of Exeter

FRANK BARLOW

The Latin Empire of Constantinople has few defenders, and rightly so. It deserved to be beaten down, and it was beaten down; none the less it is not often realized that the Byzantine empire at Nicaea was not its inevitable conqueror. This could easily have been the rival state in Epiros, and indeed the rivalry between the two contributed to the weedy survival of the Latin Empire. No contemporary chronicle pays adequate tribute to the rule of a bastard branch of the Angeli in Northern Greece, and so far they have lacked any recognition among British historians. Now Mr. Donald M. Nicol in *THE DESPOTATE OF EPIROS* (Oxford: Blackwell. 1957. xii + 251 pp. 32s.) has given us a valuable and lucid account of this interesting by-product of the disastrous Fourth Crusade, and done something to mitigate the bias of the Nicene annalists. Ultimately at a battle fought on an obscure field, but conventionally known as Pelagonia, the Epirote dynasty, in unnatural alliance with the Villehardouins, was defeated by the Palaiologi; from then

¹ Misprints or errors in the Latin have been noticed in the following: chapter II, nn. 46, 63, 100, 223; chapter III, nn. 51, 87; chapter IV, nn. 17, 65, 80, 101, 107, 224, 235, 236; chapter V, nn. 41, 53, 87, 92, 103, 104, 114, 143, 147, 172; chapter VI, nn. 42, 73, 81.

on the fate of the enfeebled Eastern Empire rested on the restored but impoverished Byzantine state. This is an excellent account of an episode of European history hitherto neglected; it is fully documented and well illustrated with a map and pedigrees—though Michael I's bastard birth might have been indicated in pedigree I; there are a few unimportant misprints.

Trinity College, Oxford

MICHAEL MACLAGAN

The pulpit (1260) in the Baptistery at Pisa by Niccolo Pisano is usually taken to be the first stirring of the Italian renaissance in the fine arts. Professor David Herlihy's *PISA IN THE EARLY RENAISSANCE* (Yale University Press: O.U.P. 1958. xx + 229 pp. 36s.) is concerned with this period of exuberance from the point of view of social and economic history. In a terse and rather unquiet style (never 'influence', always 'impact') he surveys demographic development, geography, politics, taxation, communications, agriculture, industry and commerce, basing his work mainly on notarial records, examples of which are printed in appendices, together with some material for price history and population. His conclusion is that Pisa recruited rapidly from the contado in the mid and late thirteenth century, but that, once the city became crowded, floods and malaria did disproportionately great damage; soon after 1300 stagnation and subservience to Florence were evident. The virtues of the book are: the excellent way geography and communications are related to commercial and industrial change; the integration of the social and economic forces of town and country—the contado supplying thirteenth-century capitalists as earlier it had supplied bellicose knights; and the proper balance which is struck between the land-based activities of the craftsmen and merchants and their overseas commerce, the latter having been over-stressed in most general accounts. But Dr. Herlihy could with advantage have said more than he does about the political and constitutional developments of the town. He claims to show that the aristocratic rentier was dispossessed by a calculated inflation and a deliberate process of direct taxation, but the working out of these tensions in the public field is only hinted at. A sketch map of the region is provided; a map of Pisa itself would have helped.

University of Edinburgh

DENYS HAY

THE COUNCIL OF FLORENCE. By Joseph Gill, S.J. Cambridge University Press. 1959. xviii + 453 pp. 47s. 6d.

This study is more comprehensive than the title would suggest. It covers the negotiations for the reunion of the Orthodox and Catholic churches from the pontificate of Martin V and examines the results of the decree of union (July 1439) till the fall of Constantinople. Professor Gill succeeds in giving a mainly coherent and thoroughly documented account of this period of protracted ecclesiastical diplomacy and theological argument. He indicates how, far from neglecting the question of reunion which had presented itself afresh in the Council of Constance, Martin V obtained an agreed basis for discussions with the Greeks, and that this was the foundation of the decree *Sicut pia mater* of the Council of Basel. The fruits of this success, however, were appropriated by Eugenius IV who, in his competition with Basel, persuaded the Greeks to restore the initiative to the papacy. Consequently

the discussions of 1438-9, first at Ferrara and then at Florence, took place under his guidance and, for the most part, at his expense—a matter of some significance for the results of the council. Fr. Gill shows that the Latins regularly overwhelmed the less experienced Greeks in these fifteen months of theological debate, but that argument alone was not able to uproot the traditions established during a millennium save in the case of an unrepresentative minority. While formal success vindicated papal monarchy against the claims of councils (represented by the remaining intransigents at Basel), for the Greeks it only added the division between unionists and anti-unionists to the perils of the Eastern Empire in its last hours.

Fr. Gill believes in letting the facts speak for themselves—if that is what they can do. This is stimulating in the lengthy abstracts of debates, where the author's theological training assists the lay reader. It is confusing where the chronological sequence of the sources is left to dictate the course of the narrative. Not until the closing pages does the author offer his guidance on the all-important question of the attitude of the Greek emperor; and the treatment of the diplomatic rivalry between Eugenius and Basel at Constantinople lacks general directives. The student will still turn to Creighton's account for this broader illumination. More of the Greek titles require explanation, particularly in the case of the hesychastic controversy since that had an important part in shaping the Greek attitude in the discussion of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, and on the ultimate rejection of the agreement of 1439. An unnecessarily apologetic note creeps into the comments on Basel. These are undoubtedly defects, but they do not outweigh the most valuable feature of a book which completes the patient collection of materials for the history of reunion. Fr. Gill's contribution to this preparatory work has been the re-edition of the *Acta Graeca* and a critical analysis of the *Memoirs* of Syropoulos. Together with his knowledge of modern Greek monographs this enables him to present the negotiations from the Greek point of view, which earlier writers have usually discounted.¹

The Queen's University, Belfast

G. M. D. CROWDER

DAS WERDEN DES NEUZEITLICHEN EUROPA 1300-1600 by E. Hassinger (Braunschweig: Westermann, 1959. xviii + 493 pp. DM. 26.80) is the first volume of a new manual on modern history edited by his predecessor at the University of Freiburg i. B., Professor G. Ritter. It offers a well-balanced survey of European developments during the sixteenth century. Action and reaction in the ecclesiastical sphere necessarily form the core of the story. But the political and social background, the antagonism of Habsburg and Valois, the discoveries oversea, the revolution of prices are carefully described and assessed. Territories on the Northern and Eastern periphery are treated on equal terms with the rest. The result is a stimulating synthesis of modern research, which is listed in a well-arranged bibliography covering 86 pages. The first section, about a quarter of the whole, traces the problems which dominated sixteenth-century history back into the preceding period. So the centuries, which normally are interpreted as the Late Middle Ages, are here dealt with as an introduction to the Reformation. This proceeding, almost

¹ There are very few errors. There was no Duke of Beaufort till the seventeenth century (p. 133); p. 308, n. 3 numbers a letter wrongly; a quotation on p. 51 appears to need correction.

unavoidable for the ecclesiastical historian, does, however, not make the book a contribution to a new reconstruction of general history, with the year 1300 as the beginning of a new period. It seems obvious that such a dateline, which cuts across what is normally called the medieval world, cannot be convincingly established without a full assessment of the whole epoch traditionally called the Middle Ages. Moreover, the fact that great changes in different spheres of civilization do not normally coincide chronologically, seems to suggest that the understanding of problems involved in the construction of periods cannot be advanced very much by the shifting of dates.

University of Liverpool

HANS LIEBESCHÜTZ

IN FEET OF FINES FOR THE COUNTY OF NORFOLK 1201-1215 AND THE COUNTY OF SUFFOLK 1199-1214 (Pipe Roll Society New Series, Vol. XXXII. xxxvii + 343 pp. 1958) Miss Barbara Dodwell has edited these documents meticulously and added an interesting introduction. Two small faults appear in the (otherwise excellent) index: it does not cover the introduction, and it is sometimes assumed that the place from which a man derives his surname must lie in the county to which the relevant fine relates.

The Bodleian Library and Royal Geographical Society have published in facsimile THE MAP OF GREAT BRITAIN CIRCA A.D. 1360 KNOWN AS THE GOUGH MAP, with an introduction by E. J. S. Parsons (Oxford University Press. 1958. 38 pp. £2 10s.). The facsimile (in colour) is extremely good, and is produced in two large sheets with transparent overlays which make it readily intelligible. Immense care has been taken in the transcription and interpretation of the place-names, even where the map has been badly worn. The interest of the map is great since it gives information about the road system of medieval England, and was probably compiled for the use of royal officials. Much can be learnt by simply pinning it on a wall and looking at it, and it would not be out of place in a sixth-form history room.

EARLY MODERN

PHILANTHROPY IN ENGLAND, 1480-1660: A STUDY OF THE CHANGING PATTERN OF ENGLISH SOCIAL ASPIRATIONS. By W. K. Jordan. London: Allen and Unwin. 1959. 410 pp. 42s.

This is the first volume of a study which promises to be as profound and as comprehensive as the four-volume history of religious toleration upon which Professor Jordan's reputation now securely rests. His purpose is to establish beyond possibility of doubt everything that needs to be known about the operation of private charity in this country over a period of 180 years. At first sight this might seem a relatively minor subject, but in fact it is an issue of great importance and interest. The basis of his study is statistical, and his methods are, with one very important exception, careful and reliable. He has analysed the 35,000 wills of all testators living in ten counties including London, an area which he reckons embraces one-third of the landed area and one-half of the wealth of the country at that time. He has combed as thoroughly as possible all the evidence for charitable bequests during life,

and he has examined every surviving account of overseers of the poor in this area. Nothing that could be done seems to have been left undone.

To set the scene, Professor Jordan first describes the growth of poverty and unemployment in the sixteenth century, and analyses its causes, among which it is good to see demographic growth and urbanisation taking as prominent a place as that hoary old war-horse, enclosures for pasture. He then turns to the mechanisms of relief of which the first is the growing body of State interference, culminating in the famous poor laws of 1597 and 1601, and the second is the legal changes which encouraged the growth of charitable trusts. At this point he quietly explodes his first land-mine, by pointing out that a careful investigation of accounts of poor rates suggests that the real burden of poverty was carried not by State-organized taxation but by the flow of funds from private charity. The official poor rate, indeed, was only invoked in rare periods of sudden emergency, such as harvest failure or severe unemployment. Professor Jordan concludes that 'by the most liberal analysis of the data, this would seem to suggest that in no year prior to 1660 was more than 7% of all the vast sums expended on the care of the poor derived from taxation'. So much for history as seen through the statute book, and so much for Laud's much-vaunted efforts at State-controlled poor relief in the 1630s, which merely resulted in a sharp contraction of private charity, and whose positive achievement in increasing the poor rate was in any case outstripped by that of the two subsequent decades of Puritan rule. A whole series of historical fallacies are here exposed for what they are.

Next Professor Jordan turns to the impulse behind these charitable bequests, and has little difficulty in showing that though the objectives were secular and social, and though factors like fear of social disorder and the workings of uneasy conscience played their part, the springs were essentially religious, the impulse coming from the fervent preaching of the Puritans, who found no difficulty in squaring the Calvinist doctrine of Grace with the necessity for good works.

What in fact was achieved, and by whom, and when? The first shock is to discover the sheer scale of the investment in charity at this period. Between 1540 and 1660 in the ten counties under examination, the number of almshouses in full operation rose from about 40 to about 350; substantial loan funds were created to set poor men up in business; apprenticeship was heavily endowed; and in the 1550s there was a great outburst of hospital endowment. Professor Jordan believes that virtually no damage was done to education by the dissolution of monasteries and chantries, but that the provision for secular education in the late middle ages was in any case far more meagre than is popularly supposed. In his ten counties he reckons that the number of schools increased between 1540 and 1660 from about 30 to about 540. I would suggest that this educational revolution, organized entirely by private charity, did more to alter the pattern of English life and thought than the whole of Tudor legislation put together. Against these remarkable achievements must be set the sharp decline in bequests to the Church, especially during that age of indifference and secularism, the reign of Elizabeth. By 1600 churches were falling into ruins and the lower clergy into indigence, developments which were unfortunate but inevitable by-products of the welcome shift of public interest towards the amelioration of life in this world rather than in the next.

The lion's share of this charitable burden was borne by the relatively small urban communities, especially the London merchants. Professor Jordan seems to think that this predominance is largely to be explained in terms of moral superiority, the greater sense of civic responsibility of the new forces that were creating a capitalist society. But it is surely possible to suggest other factors. Firstly the gentry and nobility were supposed to live—and quite often did—a life of ceaseless charity, in which the burden of lavish hospitality and generous almsgiving in the forms of surplus food was constant and heavy. Unlike the merchants, they had fulfilled their social obligations during life. Secondly the nobility and gentry had their wealth tied up in land, which was not easily disposable for purposes of charitable trusts, whereas the merchant had his capital in readily available cash or bonds. Thirdly the landed classes, provided they did not enclose and depopulate, conformed to the social ethos of the day: the merchants with their ruthless ways epitomized the acquisitive society which most moralists of the period found as deplorable as does Professor Tawney. The generosity of their charitable giving is surely in part a measure of their social unease in the face of public obloquy, an attempt to win the respect of their fellow-countrymen. Lastly there is the demographic factor. In three counties analysed (including London), Professor Jordan shows that a mere 323 individuals, or under 2 per cent of testators, gave 66 per cent of the whole amount devoted to charity. It is reasonable to assume that all but a handful of these 323 were childless, and in this connection the well-known disparity between rural and urban, particularly London, mortality rates is surely of some importance. The chance of a wealthy London merchant being childless must have been significantly higher than that of a wealthy rural landowner. The accumulation of wealth in the hands of the London merchant oligarchy, coupled with the high—indeed possibly worsening—infant mortality rate as the city expanded, may well have been an important cause of the supremacy of the urban over the landed classes in the amount of charitable giving.

Lastly there is the problem of estimating the volume of charity and measuring its chronological fluctuations. Basing himself on his graphs, Professor Jordan believes firstly that, despite current lamentations, the scale of giving was on a rising curve after about 1550, and secondly that it reached an unprecedented peak between 1600 and 1630 that far outstripped the puny efforts of the middle ages. It is with the greatest reluctance that I must say that I believe both these conclusions to be wrong, and to be based on a major methodological error. Professor Jordan explains that the difficulties of constructing a reliable index of monetary inflation are so great that he has been obliged to give up the attempt, and that in consequence all his figures are of donations at their face value in the money of the moment. Now it is true that the difficulties of constructing an index are very great indeed, but the fact remains that the price of virtually all commodities rose between 400 and 700 per cent from 1500 to 1640. Whether one follows Thorold Rogers or Knoop and Jones or Phelps Brown, the general pattern is not so very different. Professor Jordan is able to speak of rises and falls in the curves of charity (e.g. pp. 243, 245, 273) as if money was stable, whereas if his graphs are adjusted to take inflation into account they give a very different picture indeed. Let us re-draw Professor Jordan's basic graph of all charitable giving between 1480 and 1660 (p. 367) by altering the figures decennially according

to the Phelps Brown cost-of-living index—and it should be noted that this procedure totally ignores any increase in national wealth, and particularly wealth of the main classes of donors. We find that the scale of giving, instead of falling from 1510 to 1550 and then rising slowly to 1600, in fact falls catastrophically and all but continuously from 1510 to 1600. Instead of shooting up dramatically to unprecedented heights of generosity in the first decades of the seventeenth century, the graph certainly rises sharply but never approaches the level of giving of the first decade of the sixteenth century. If this adjustment is well-founded, then contemporaries were right and Professor Jordan is wrong. The Reformation did indeed permanently reduce the volume of private charity, which even the Puritan outburst of the early seventeenth century was unable to drive up again to its former level. On the other hand it is true that the real volume of money devoted to socially useful purposes increased, since so much of pre-Reformation charity was devoted to such non-utilitarian tasks as church embellishment and masses for the dead.

This is one of the most interesting and exciting books about English social history of the sixteenth and seventeenth century that has appeared for many years, and the second volume, on London, promises to be at least as important as the first. It is very much to be hoped that before it is published Professor Jordan will consult his economic and statistical colleagues to devise a way of overcoming the one important defect in his methods. A work of this magnitude deserves the best tools that human ingenuity can contrive.

Wadham College, Oxford

LAWRENCE STONE

ZUR MITTELDEUTSCHEN WIEDERTÄUFERBEWEGUNG NACH DEM GROSSEN BAUERNKRIEG. By Gerhard Zschäbitz. Berlin: Rütten and Loening. 1958. 180 pp.

The aim of this study is to establish that Anabaptism was originally and essentially an ideology of social protest. This interpretation has long been advanced by left-wing historians; but whereas most such historians, from Seidemann in 1842 to Professor Smirin in 1956, have concentrated on Müntzer and the Peasants' War, Dr. Zschäbitz deals with Anabaptism in the years after 1525. Nobody before has made such systematic use of the original sources now made available by Wappler and in the *Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte*.

The picture that emerges is of a religious ideology first formulated by radically minded intellectuals under the impact of the reformation of Luther and Zwingli, espoused by artisans and apprentices in the towns and thence disseminated amongst the peasantry. And this ideology is shown as inspiring a movement of opposition to the established order, religious and secular alike. But the opposition could express itself in very different ways, ranging from the formation of aloof, closed groups to wild outbursts of revolutionary chiliasm: and the lack of any sociological analysis of these differences points to the gravest weakness in this book. From the fourteenth century onwards revolutionary chiliasm was rife amongst the very poor in the towns of Central Germany: so it is not surprising that, by concentrating on Central Germany, the author can make Anabaptism look fiercely millenarian. Had he brought equal attention to the sober, peasant-based Anabaptism of Switzerland, his book would have been more balanced—though less colourful

and doubtless less acceptable to its sponsors at the Karl Marx University, Leipzig.

Nevertheless Dr. Zschäbitz has produced a conscientious and thoughtful piece of work, and one which is empirical in approach rather than dogmatic. And however grotesque one may find the occasional cant phrases about 'the triumphant scientific world-view of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism', one may justly reflect that only seven years ago, when Professor Meusel published his book on Müntzer, it was obligatory to quote Stalin. *Eppur si muove!*

NORMAN COHN

REFORMATION AND REACTION IN TUDOR CAMBRIDGE. By H. C. Porter.

Cambridge University Press. 1958. xi + 461 pp. 52s. 6d.

From the days when Thomas Bilney and his friends forgathered in The White Horse Inn, or 'Little Germany', to the intense debates of James I's reign, the University of Cambridge was one of the most animated and sensitive nerve-centres of Reformation doctrine and argument. That was but natural and right. Young students should be the most articulate, intense and contestatious participants in grave contemporary issues; and in Tudor Cambridge even the dons were astonishingly youthful—usually in their early twenties or thirties. The story of the issues about which they contended has been very well told by Dr. H. C. Porter. In addition to covering a wide range of printed sources he has made effective use of much manuscript material in the university and college archives never previously used for this purpose, and has also put to very good effect collections relating to the Cecils at the British Museum and Hatfield.

He has divided his study into three parts. In the first he is content mainly to sketch what was already known of the Cambridge of the humanists, Fisher and Erasmus, of the early Protestants and of those exiled for religion during Mary's reign. It is the second and third sections which are the weightiest and most original. The second is concerned with the protests of Cambridge Puritans against the restrictions placed on them by authority. The controversies which ensued were always earnest, usually acrimonious and often regrettably childish. The empirical wisdom of the Chancellor, Burghley, stood out in sharp contrast to the incorrigible pedantry of the quarrelling dons. Dr. Porter is not much in sympathy with the Puritans, to whom he is apt to refer in terms such as 'trouble-makers' and 'ring-leaders', but he does them no injustice. In the third section he threads his way with admirable sureness amid the thickets of controversy which flourished around the central Protestant doctrines of grace and predestination. Here he has established quite firmly that Arminian doctrines were not new to England in the second and third decades of the seventeenth century. They had been foreshadowed since the 1580s by the liberal teachings of Cambridge divines, notably Peter Baro, Lancelot Andrewes and John Overall, whose ideas are succinctly and judiciously analysed. It can also be seen that Archbishop Whitgift and other Church leaders were notably less rigidly Calvinist in their interpretation of these matters than was once thought. In all these controversies the influence of the participants was not confined to the university. Many of those issues most hotly contested came to the notice of the archbishop and the government. Still more important was the influence of the fellows,

Puritans and others, who took themselves and their doctrines to the parishes, and, as often as not, to cathedral chapter and episcopal bench. One of the longest and most fascinating chapters in the book is that in which the impact of outstanding Cambridge Puritans on parishes at home and in the American colonies is discussed.

But there are some interesting questions which remain unanswered. Why was Cambridge so strongly Protestant in complexion? Partly no doubt it was the influence of what Dr. Porter calls the 'appalling popularity' of young dons and partly the strength of college tradition. But, as Dr. Porter shows, dons came and went and college tradition could be reversed within a generation. What he does not tell us is how far the Puritan ethos was a matter of the geographical areas or the social milieu from which the undergraduates were drawn. True, Laurence Chaderton, the son of a Lancashire recusant family, was converted by Cambridge. But he was surely one of the exceptions. Were not the majority of Cambridge men drawn from those families and regions in which Protestantism was most likely to flourish? Nor is there any discussion of whether the changes in doctrinal emphasis were reflective of changes in recruitment or in political and social affiliations. The reviewer, at least, finds it hard to believe that all modifications of doctrine would be determined by the dialectic of theological dispute. One last question: why was the book called 'Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge'? It hardly seems an entirely appropriate title. It is difficult to know to whom 'reaction' is supposed to refer. It was certainly not the Romanists, and it is not easy to suppose that Dr. Porter would class the Anglican opponents of the Puritans as reactionaries. But, in conclusion, it must be said that this is a substantial, scholarly and enjoyable piece of historical writing, written with enviable ease and assurance of style.

University College of Swansea

J. GLANMOR WILLIAMS

EXETER, 1540-1640. The Growth of an English County Town. By Wallace

T. MacCaffrey. Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1959. 311 pp. 45s.

It has long been a commonplace that much of the distinctive character of English history arises from the vigour, autonomy and continuity of our local communities. Pursuing this theme, Professor MacCaffrey has set out to view English history during this great creative epoch through the eyes of such a community. His aim, he warns us, is not to write a narrative 'local history'; on the other hand he has avoided the besetting sin of an earlier generation of local historians who looked on national history episodically, and brought it into their story only when some dramatic event—a battle, a rebellion or even a royal visit—happened to impinge upon the life of their chosen town. The book cannot fail to be of local interest, since the author never loses sight of the city as a community; but it has an equal interest for the 'foreigner' to Exeter, who will surely carry away a clearer perception of what the great movements of the age meant to 'the country' as distinct from London.

There is naturally much here that is peculiar to Exeter—its collective enterprises, the clans and the personalities that made up its ruling oligarchy; even its provisions for the poor and for education, or the structure of local industry and trade, while conforming to a general pattern, have their own instructive idiosyncracies. The combination of strict 'localism' in parliamentary representation with a striking readiness to absorb outsiders into the

municipal machine is also of interest. But it is in what its author rightly claims as 'a different historical perspective for the whole English scene' that the greatest value of the book lies. Where else can we look for so minute and satisfying an analysis of the various groups, from the merchant princes to that half of the population who lived in 'grinding poverty'—their houses, their furnishings, the very contents of their libraries—as that which appears in the final chapter? Or what better commentary can we find on the rarity of revolution in English public life than in the glimpses we are given of Exeter men—recognizable individuals of widely differing attitudes in religion and politics—learning to sink their differences (whether from base or lofty motives) in common civic enterprises? A page or two of concrete evidence from this vivid and close-up picture will often be found to light up the period more effectively than the most plausible historic generalizations. The whole book is a running commentary on the persistence of the medieval *communitas communitatum*, to which the New Monarchy and its central bureaucracy at best play second fiddle. Perhaps the most disappointing gap in the story—and here the fault is not in the author but in the canniness and caution of his characters—is in the field of oceanic trade, discovery and adventure, in which Exeter as a community played so surprisingly minor a rôle.

The work is beautifully produced, with a useful folding end-plan and a critical apparatus which is scholarly without being obtrusive; it remains readable even in the most formidably statistical passages. It may perhaps be urged that the chapter on the Reformation reveals the movement, even in time-serving Exeter, as something more than the 'local real-estate boom' in which the author sums up the local reaction in his introduction; and there appears to be another minor contradiction between the 'contrasted' pattern of wealth-distribution in the late seventeenth century suggested on p. 250 and the conclusion on the next page that it is 'fundamentally the same'.¹ Apart from these incidental queries, and a passing sigh for a rather more generous index, the book is to be acclaimed as a notable contribution not only to the growing output of local history but to the historiography of the Elizabethan and early Stuart age at large.

A. H. DODD

Of Sir John Neale's twelve *ESSAYS IN ELIZABETHAN HISTORY* (London: Cape. 1958. 225 pp. 18s.) the first, which traces the story of the celebration of 'November 17th', Elizabeth I's accession day, is new. Another, 'English Local Government: a historical retrospect', which emphasizes how much England's constitutional liberties owed to the peculiarities of her local administration, dates from 1935 but has not previously appeared in print. A third, on 'The Via Media in Politics', comes from the New York *Saturday Review*. The rest will be already familiar to historians, but none the less welcome for that. For, although they do not include any of his more strictly parliamentary studies, they do form a most valuable supplement—or, better, introduction—to his biography of the Queen and to his three volumes on Elizabethan parliaments. 'The Accession of Elizabeth I' and 'The Via Media

¹ The book called on p. 271 'Sickman Souls', which was in the library of the mayor of 1588, seems more likely to have been the *Sickman's Salve* of that aggressive Protestant Thomas Becon—a popular work of devotion published early in the reign; if so, his possession of it chimes in well with the puritan-inspired agitation for a civic 'lectureship' which began just before his mayoralty.

in Politics', indeed, taken together, outline a good deal of the argument of those three volumes, while the notable Raleigh lecture on 'The Elizabethan Political Scene' and the Creighton lecture on 'The Elizabethan Age' provide their political background. 'The Fame of Sir Edward Stafford', written to defend the ambassador against Dr. Conyers Read's charges of treason, throws light also upon the relations between councillors and upon the Queen's control of foreign policy. So does the study of army finance in 'Elizabeth and the Netherlands, 1586-7', which moreover can well be read as an instructive commentary on the Commons' debates about Netherlands policy in 1587. 'The Diplomatic Envoy' is largely concerned to assess the value of diplomatic correspondence for the study of domestic politics; and 'The Biographical Approach to History' discusses the 'Namier method' of mass, or group, biography extensively used for *The Elizabethan House of Commons*.

Almost all these essays are thus related to a central interest and possess a unity that is all too rare in such collections. They also afford excellent examples of Sir John Neale's method and attitude as an historian. 'Elizabeth and the Netherlands' is an outstanding illustration of his exact and lucid treatment of a complicated and highly technical subject. 'The Diplomatic Envoy' and 'The Sayings of Queen Elizabeth' demonstrate the blend of awareness and wariness, neither too little nor too much scepticism, that have given his work so firm and balanced an approach. For while he is readily stirred by what was splendid in Elizabethan England, he is by no means blind to what was sordid, to the fact that the age 'contained the seeds of its own decay'. It may sometimes seem that his criticism hesitates a little before the Queen's majesty, that the words 'romance' and 'romantic' recur a little easily when he speaks of her relations with her subjects. Yet even here he can remind us 'that the cult of Elizabeth has its analogies with the cult of Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin'.

Worcester College, Oxford

R. B. WERNHAM

THE COUNCIL IN THE MARCHES OF WALES UNDER ELIZABETH I. By Penry Williams. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 1958. xiv + 385 pp. 42s.

Forty-five years have gone by since Miss C. A. J. Skeel's *The Council in the Marches of Wales* was first published. In the meantime there has been an impressive advance in our knowledge of the problems and methods of Tudor administration. A new survey of the Council in the Marches set against this background would in itself have been valuable. Mr. Penry Williams has provided this and a great deal more in his book. He has searched widely and minutely among the central and local records for the period, and nothing of significance appears to have escaped him. In view of the disappearance of the judicial records of the Council, the coherent and balanced analysis of its working which he has been able to piece together from the somewhat fragmentary sources at his disposal is the more remarkable. The Council emerges as an instrument capable of making a not negligible contribution to law and order in an area where such blessings had been conspicuously absent. It did so despite the handicaps of presidents not well-suited to their task, a limited choice of members, officials who looked upon their offices as profitable freeholds, a growing breadth and burden of litigation, tight finances, and the need to pay judges out of the fines imposed by them. The

tracing of the tortuous manœuvrings of Elizabethan factions as reflected in the Council, and the comparison of its activity with that of other similar institutions, are particularly valuable.

It may be doubted, possibly, whether recusancy was as strong in Wales or as worrying to the government as is here suggested. Few of the considerable number of Welshmen who became seminarists returned to Wales as missionaries. The 'wild and mountainous country' did not afford 'excellent refuges for Jesuits and other priests', so it is not to be wondered at that it was in low-lying areas along the English border that recusants flourished. Here, too, Protestants tended to be most articulate: not surprising, perhaps, in view of a favourite Welsh proverb that it is 'iron that whets iron'. The book is singularly free from minor slips; but it might have been made clearer that the counties of Carmarthen and Cardigan did not have their modern boundaries before 1536 (pp. 1, 5); there was no friary at Montgomery (p. 32); Lord Ferrers was officially granted the manor, as well as the palace, of Lamphey from the King (p. 233); and there was no lordship of Swansea as distinct from that of Gower (p. 234).

Students of Tudor administration, no less than of Welsh history, are placed deeply in the debt of the author of this excellent study. It seems the safest of prophecies that it is likely to remain the authoritative work on the subject for at least as long as the well-known book which it now so largely supersedes.

University College of Swansea

GLANMOR WILLIAMS

THE QUEEN'S WARDS. WARDSHIP AND MARRIAGE UNDER ELIZABETH I. By

Joel Hurstfield. London: Longmans. 1958. xvii + 366 pp. 42s.

Within the last five years two valuable studies of the Court of Wards have been published. The first of these in point of time is the admirable *Introduction to the History and Records of the Court of Wards and Liveries*, by H. E. Bell, which appeared in 1953; the second, Joel Hurstfield's equally admirable book on the Queen's Wards has but just appeared. There is considerable overlapping, but in the main Mr. Bell has been chiefly concerned with the Court as an institution, Mr. Hurstfield with the social consequences of its operation.

Much of what Mr. Hurstfield now gives us has been foreshadowed in his *Lord Burghley as Master of the Court of Wards*, a paper read before the Royal Historical Society some ten years ago, and in his *Profits of Fiscal Feudalism*, published in the *Economic History Review* in 1955. But much also is new.

Wardship was the right of a feudal overlord, whose vassal held land of him in return for military service, to manage the vassal's estate and the vassal's heir if, at the vassal's death, the heir was a minor. Attached to it was the right to control the marriage of the heir. These rights were sold. It was indeed as a source of revenue that they survived long after they had lost any military significance. That is what Mr. Hurstfield means by fiscal feudalism. During the middle ages wardships operated at all levels of the feudal hierarchy but, by the time of Elizabeth, private wardship survived only in isolated cases. Mr. Hurstfield gives some interesting examples of its survival. But he is concerned in the main with royal wardship.

He devotes much of his attention to abuses in the sale of royal rights of marriage and of wardship. I think he has overemphasized the evils of the sales of marriage rights, or rather he has ascribed to the sale of marriage rights, evils associated with sixteenth-century marriages in general. Marriages

among the Tudor gentry were arranged by parents with reference to much the same considerations that prompted the arrangement of marriages by guardians. One has but to contemplate the marriages which William Cecil arranged for his daughters and his granddaughters to realize that fact. In almost every case, and notably in the case of his favourite daughter Ann, they were tragic failures.

Abuses in the sale of wardships, as Mr. Hurstfield deals with them, have mainly to do with the behaviour of the Master of the Court of Wards, who fixed a price, well below the market, for wardships belonging to the Crown, and received for himself from the buyer a substantial *douceur*. He is largely concerned with the behaviour of Lord Burghley in this connection. There can be little doubt that Burghley made a private profit from the sale of royal wardships, though the one document cited in this connection is of problematical validity. It applies to the last years of Burghley's life, when most of his affairs had been taken over by his son Robert, who was, demonstrably, quite unscrupulous in exploiting wardships.

More convincing is the defence of Burghley's sale of royal wardships by his anonymous contemporary biographer. The essence of this defence was that although Burghley did make a private profit from the sales, the profit he took was a modest one, and that in ninety per cent of the cases he took no profit at all.

This defence was based upon the presumption that abuse lay not in the fact of private profit but in the size of private profit. And that presumption would at the time probably have been regarded as valid. Mr. Hurstfield admits, as Sir John Neale has admitted, the universal practice of exploiting public office for personal gain. It was, they agree, the accepted way in which office holders, in a period of rapidly rising prices, could maintain themselves upon their meagre salaries. Elizabeth and Burghley both knew of it and winked at it. They gave in fact official sanction to what was, in American parlance, a civil service sustained by 'graft'.

On these grounds Burghley stood exonerated of corrupt practices. But it was not quite as simple as that. If everybody did it, nobody talked about it. The sparsity of evidence is itself disturbing. It suggests something furtive about the whole business. The line between corruption and customary practice was a thin and wavering one, as Francis Bacon discovered later to his sorrow. One would feel more comfortable about it if those who practised it had been more forthright, if Burghley had once recorded those *douceurs* among his chief sources of revenue, if the unknown person who noted down Burghley's private profits from the sales of wardships had not given explicit directions that his memorandum was to be burned.

CONYERS READ

THE PARIS OF HENRY OF NAVARRE AS SEEN BY PIERRE DE L'ESTOILE.
SELECTIONS FROM HIS 'MÉMOIRES-JOURNAUX'. Translated and edited by
Nancy Lyman Roelker. Harvard University Press: Oxford University
Press. 1959. 321 pp. 55s.

In spite of the title of this book, just over two thirds of it is about the reign of Henry III. The rest covers the revolutionary affairs of Paris and ends in 1599 with the Edict of Nantes. There is a summary of events, a glossary of terms and there are ten excellent illustrations. The translation—which is

difficult—is very free and occasionally incorrect. It is a handsome book, well produced and well printed. But for whom is it intended? How much better a critical edition of the *Journal* of Pierre de L'Estoile would have been, extracting the accurate information out of this historical salad, for an attempt to popularise it is gravely misguided. Miss Roelker says that de L'Estoile has been used by scholars as a reliable source. He has certainly been used but this does not make him reliable. Indeed, it is a sickening experience to read the *Journal* and to realize that it has been so thoroughly absorbed into the very fabric of French history, that we shall probably never completely escape from its elaborate tissue of falsehood.

Miss Roelker also says that de L'Estoile was a serious student of politics and morals, combining acute observations with keen judgement of men and events, and that he provided an eyewitness account of the wars of religion and the court of the Valois, with the idiosyncracies, clothes, food, jokes, diseases and love affairs of an enormous cast of characters. On the contrary de L'Estoile was not a serious student of anything, unless perhaps of law: he was a dilettante collector. If he possessed keen judgement, he chose not to exercise it, noting down tales of obscene buffoonery alongside simple statements of fact. He did not frequent the court; he did not take part in the events of his time, and, above all, he does not give us an *eyewitness* account of anything which did not take place in public. What he does give us is a mixture of fact with the feelings, passions and prejudices of a section of Parisian society which hated Henry III for his extravagance and because his moderate policy was not their own, and a possibly unique collection of scurrilous verses and lampoons.

To see the last quarter of the sixteenth century through the eyes of de L'Estoile, as Miss Roelker would have us do, is to see a distortion. This purveyor of twice-told, backstairs gossip indiscriminately recorded everything he heard. This did not mean that he believed it all, or that he expected it to be believed. 'J'en écris plus que je n'en crois', he is said to have confessed, 'et seulement pour passer mon temps', admitting to having a mania for writing, which he could not resist.¹ His frivolity and our own credulity have done incalculable harm. De L'Estoile ought never to be cited except where he is adequately borne out by other and better sources.

N. M. SUTHERLAND

WAR AND SOCIETY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By Sir George Clark. Cambridge University Press. 1958. viii + 157 pp. 18s. 6d.

In this book Sir George Clark gives us in a revised form the four Wiles Lectures that he delivered at the Queen's University of Belfast in 1956 and also a revised version of an article on the 'Barbary Corsairs in the Seventeenth Century' and a reprint of his Creighton Lecture on 'The Cycle of War and Peace in Modern History'. Since the Wiles Lectures are an attempt to determine certain general characteristics of war in the seventeenth century, the book as a whole has a certain unity. Sir George has asked much of his readers; what he does is to present his arguments with vigour and buttress them with terse references to various facts; some of these are not matters of common knowledge; many of the sources he has used will not even be known by name to the average reader. Nevertheless, everybody who is interested in

¹ Petitot, *Collection complète des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France*, xlv. 10.

modern history should get to grips with this book. Considering the importance of war, it is amazing that so little has been done to analyse its nature at various periods. We have histories in plenty of particular wars and a lesser number of books either glorifying or condemning war. Sir George tells us what he thinks war really was in the seventeenth century, why it existed, and what function it fulfilled. A book that asks, and tries to answer, fundamental questions is unlikely to command the complete assent and consent of all readers; probably such books should not do so. What this book does is to compel admiration and stimulate thought.

The present reviewer would like to argue certain points at length, did space permit. Here he must confine himself to a few queries. Granted that to the modern student the partition treaties of 1698 and 1699 seem sensible attempts to avert a general war, it could be argued that they genuinely shocked many contemporaries as clean counter to justice; they certainly shocked the Castillians, whose views could not, as the event proved, be disregarded. Perhaps, too, it is a bit misleading to say that those who made the treaties had 'commercial statistics'. What was the value of any relevant statistics then available? Again, it might have been pointed out that the devastation of parts of Bavaria, which occurred before, not after, Blenheim, made Marlborough feel a bit ashamed of himself. Whether this proves much is debatable, but it is surely worth mentioning. Finally, it is difficult for some to believe that, whatever may be the future developments of encephalography, it will ever be possible to give useful statistical estimates of pride, anger, and humanity as factors in the history of war and peace. If the reviewer ventures to take issue with Sir George on these matters, he would like to conclude with a word of heartfelt advice, not to those who have read him and will know it, but to those who are thinking of reading him: this is a book, not to borrow, but to buy, for it deserves to be reread at intervals, and each rereading will prove alike enjoyable and profitable.

University College, London

MARK A. THOMSON

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, A HISTORY OF SWEDEN, vol. ii, 1626-1632. By Michael Roberts. London: Longmans. 1958. 848 pp. 84s.

With this volume a work of major scholarship has been completed. The arrangement entails that some of the main chapters dealing with the whole period under discussion have been left for the present volume: here is the description of Swedish society in 1611, and the survey of economic and social developments during the whole reign of Gustavus Adolphus; here are the sections on the Swedish army and navy. We now possess in English a modern, thorough study of Sweden in the first three decades of the seventeenth century, based on an independent examination of the published primary material (and all the important series, such as the correspondence between Gustavus Adolphus and Oxenstierna, the documents relating to the war, the minutes and protocols of governmental organs and departments, have been published). It also assimilates the fruits of Swedish scholarship on the various aspects or problems of the reign. In Sweden itself, Professor Roberts' work has been hailed as a feat of high scholarship in its supreme command and control of the material. It has found a place on the library shelves there as a useful and stimulating study of the reign of Gustavus Adolphus in all its

various aspects, for which there is as yet no counterpart among the numerous books on the King and his reign published in Sweden.

For the English reader the present volume may well prove the more attractive and useful of the two, concentrating as it does on the very bases—the Swedish society, economy and armed forces—from which Gustavus Adolphus operated and on the years when the fortunes of the Swedish King played such a decisive rôle in the Thirty Years War. The interaction between the Swedish bases and the war is well brought out. 'The social and economic development of Sweden under Gustav Adolf', argues the author, 'was in one aspect the result of a mobilization of all the state's resources for war', and this theme is supported by a variety of evidence; while in the chapters dealing with the army and the navy Gustavus Adolphus's reforms are put into their European perspective. The Swedish King's 'real contribution was not that he devised a military organization and a method of fighting that were wholly new; it was rather that he appropriated, with judicious eclecticism, those tendencies and developments in the military art which offered possibilities of progress; and, having appropriated them, developed and transformed them . . . In him is incarnate the military revolution which began in the middle of the sixteenth century and was completed by the armies of Louis XIV.'

The chapters on the war enable us to follow the campaigns and the diplomacy in great detail, but we do not lose sight of the wood for the trees, thanks to the lucid analysis of motives and objectives. The pages dealing with the object of the expedition (pp. 417–25) can be strongly recommended—within their short span they could hardly be bettered. They are built round the text that Gustavus Adolphus was 'neither the ideal Protestant Hero of the nineteenth-century Swedish historiography nor the *Realpolitiker* of Droysen. He was compounded of both these elements, and hence different from either.' Similarly, the discussion of Gustavus Adolphus's peace programme and of the attitude of the Swedish Council to their King's political perfectionism is brilliantly done.

Professor Roberts has conceived his work as a history of Sweden, and the advantages of this approach as contrasted to the biographical treatment are clear: Gustavus Adolphus does not dominate the scene (there is an excellent portrait of Axel Oxenstierna for instance), nor are his mistakes and miscalculations obscured by the lack of detachment which often accompanies a strong identification with the motives and thought of the subject of a biography. There are, however, disadvantages in ending a history of Sweden, which was given a long enough introduction to make the Sweden of Gustavus Adolphus's reign intelligible, at the death of the King in 1632 when the issues at stake in the war were not as yet decided: an epilogue carrying the story down to 1648 as far as Sweden is concerned would have redressed the balance. A brief, final chapter, 'The King and the Reign', some 15 pages only, attempts to put Gustavus Adolphus into perspective and to provide an answer to the question, 'What place does Gustav Adolf occupy in the long roll of Swedish Kings; what significance has his reign in the broad perspective of Swedish history?' This chapter has some striking and true comments, for example on the partnership of Gustavus Adolphus and Oxenstierna as 'one of the great historic collaborations'; but Professor Roberts' conclusion that 'Gustav Adolf committed Sweden to a position which in the long run (though not immediately) she could not hope to sustain; and that—after 1626 at all

events—his foreign policy represents a deviation from the main lines of Swedish interests', seems at variance with his own careful and detailed study of the necessities, such as Habsburg support for the Polish Catholic Vasa claimants to the throne of Sweden, which drove Gustavus Adolphus to intervention in the Thirty Years War. The gains of 1648 (which are nowhere given in any detail, though Professor Roberts refers to the peace of Westphalia as a reward for the policy Gustavus Adolphus had instituted) were part and parcel of Sweden's great-power position and many Swedes in the second half of the seventeenth century and in the early years of the eighteenth considered them the real basis of her European position: they brought with them a seat in the Diet, the joint leadership of the Lower Saxony circle, Sweden's proximity to and share in European affairs. Without the German provinces, would Charles Gustavus's campaigns against Denmark have been successful? And if Gustavus Adolphus had been able to limit himself, as Professor Roberts suggests would have been the wisest course, to a struggle against Russia and Poland to secure the Baltic littoral, would Sweden have been a European power between 1626 and 1721? The present reviewer is inclined to think that Professor Roberts is not quite convinced by his own argument; for he lets fall the illuminating phrase that the developments of the reign 'could not easily have been avoided', while later on he admits, 'In 1630, no doubt, there was a deliberate choice. But it was a choice so weighted by irrefutable arguments as to be scarcely a choice at all.' The element of contradiction in the summing up is noticeable, therefore, but in a work of such monumental knowledge and industry, this is only a slight human imperfection, detracting but little from the successful completion of an immensely difficult task.

London School of Economics

R. M. HATTON

THE CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE WILLOUGHBY FAMILY. By Cassandra Duchess of Chandos. Edited by A. C. Wood. Eton: The Shakespeare Head Press. 1958. xix + 147 pp. 30s.

Cassandra Willoughby, Duchess of Chandos (1670–1735) was a remarkable person—one of the few women to be touched by the antiquarian fever of her time. She made a prolonged study of the family papers preserved at her Elizabethan home, Wollaton, Notts., and from them constructed a history of the Willoughbys. The first volume, begun in 1702 and concerned principally with the sixteenth century, was acquired by Lord Middleton in the 1880s and was printed, with only a few omissions, by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1911 (*Middleton MSS.*, pp. 504–608). The second volume was lost sight of until recently when it was acquired by the university of Nottingham. It is now presented to the public by Professor A. C. Wood, who has divided it into chapters and provided the reader with a useful critical apparatus. His footnotes in particular are very helpful—never in the way, never out of the way—but at least one reader would also have welcomed a genealogical table to guide him through the maze of marriages and remarriages and progeny. The author in this volume continues her story up to 1690, and on the whole has less interesting people to deal with than in the Tudor volume. It is with people that she is concerned; the work was simply one of family piety, and she is content to tell the domestic history of the Willoughbys with hardly a glance at the national or even county affairs in which they played a certain part. Readers hungry for more about

the seventeenth-century gentry will find a modicum of material about marriage settlements, wardships, expenses of building and of lawsuits and so on, but the amount of generally interesting information is not large. Yet the work was worth doing and has been done well. A final word of gratitude should be given for the splendid series of portraits which illustrate the text.

Royal Holloway College

R. G. LATHAM

LATER MODERN

ENGLISH PEOPLE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Dorothy Marshall.

London: Longmans. 1956. xvi + 288 pp. 30s.

Dr. Marshall has written a book about the English people of the eighteenth century in their daily life. She describes the composition and habits of the main social groups, the constitutional and ecclesiastical arrangements of the period, and the rôle of particular groups, especially the merchants, in the formation of policy. She then discusses the impact on this society of agrarian and industrial developments. It is primarily, as the author claims, a 'background' book. Some essential elements of the background have, it is true, been omitted. For there is nothing about intellectual life and little about religion. But within her chosen limits Dr. Marshall provides a variegated and well-constructed back-cloth to the changing scenes of eighteenth-century history. It is not so technical that it will not interest general readers as well as students, nor so advanced that it cannot profitably be used in sixth forms.

The difficulty of 'background' history is that it tends to obscure chronological changes. Instances from different decades are drawn to form a composite and therefore stereotyped portrait of a group or institution; or the portrait is heavily weighted by the circumstances of a single decade which may well misrepresent those of other decades. Dr. Marshall has not entirely overcome the difficulties of the *genre*. The chapter on constitutional arrangements rests too heavily upon the assumption that the conditions of the 1760s are characteristic of the whole century. In other instances statements do indeed apply to the whole century, but only because they are so hedged by protective reservations as to be drained of interest. Another difficulty is that background problems are frequently quantitative, but that the available statistics are often few and fragile. The need to make bricks without enough straw forces Dr. Marshall, on occasion, to such lame conclusions as that 'even if it is unwise to overestimate the change in social structure . . . that the economic development of the late eighteenth century effected, it would be equally rash to underestimate it'. On this, and other points, a more thorough exploitation of the statistical resources of the eighteenth century might have given the reader a more precise idea of what a proper estimate would be. These difficulties are, however, in large measure unavoidable, and Dr. Marshall has made very skilful use of diaries, local histories and novels to give life and colour to her portraits of social types. The book is very readable, and the general standard of accuracy high; though it is not true that Coke of Holkham increased the income of his estate ten-fold, and it was in 1795 not 1793 that the Berkshire magistrates met at Speen.

All Souls College, Oxford

H. J. HABAKKUK

THE LATER CHURCHILLS. By A. L. Rowse. London: Macmillan. 1958.
ix + 528 pp. 35s.

If the first duke of Marlborough quite rightly dominated the first volume of Dr. Rowse's history of the Churchills, the second Sir Winston equally rightly dominates the second volume, in which five out of fifteen chapters are devoted to him. In this connection another point must be made; the second Sir Winston, among his other achievements, is a distinguished historian; his life of the first duke, his life of his father, Lord Randolph, and those numerous writings in which he has described and discussed his own times are, taken together, the best history we yet have of the only Churchills whose names are likely to live. It is no disparagement to Dr. Rowse to mention a fact he would be the last to deny. He has made judicious use of Sir Winston's books where they concern his theme and has sought elsewhere for information about the other Churchills. In particular, he has extracted some interesting pieces of information from the Blenheim MSS. Since its presence is rather unexpected, special reference should be made to a revealing quotation on p. 77 from a letter written by Henry Fox. If the elder Fox was not a great man, he was a person of some importance in his day. On the other hand, most of those Churchills whose lives are chronicled in this volume are not particularly interesting either on account of their achievements or their characters. The eighth duke may have had great talents—some who knew him thought so—but he made no use of them.

Presumably family histories must deal with very ordinary, as well as extraordinary, people; in other words, they must contain details that are not likely to appeal to those who are not members of the family in question. But a history of a landed family with a great mansion inevitably suggests other questions. To know how estates were managed is to know something worth knowing; well worth knowing, too, is the story of a mansion and its contents. About Blenheim and its treasures Dr. Rowse has things to say that will arouse not merely interest but strong emotions. It is not pleasant to learn that the nation failed to secure for one or other of the great repositories all those treasures that for one reason or another the Churchills felt impelled to sell. About the Churchill estates and, in general, the economic history of the Churchills, we are not told much. In this respect Dr. Rowse has only followed the example set by the great majority of family historians and biographers. Probably he could do no other. But it is a curious commentary upon the present state of knowledge that it is usually easier to get information—or at least conjecture—about the sex life of persons who died fifty or more years ago than about their incomes.

A reviewer who cannot resist the temptation of voicing some of his favourite grumbles is well aware that it would be churlish to end on a note of complaint. He believes and wishes to say that Dr. Rowse has completed the task he set himself with great skill and tact.

University College, London

MARK A. THOMSON

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF EDMUND BURKE, VOLUME I, APRIL 1744–JUNE 1768. Edited by Thomas W. Copeland. Cambridge University Press. 1958. xxvi + 377 pp. 60s.

The appearance of the first volume of a full correspondence of Edmund Burke, with the promise of nine more volumes to complete the series within

about as many years, is an event in historical and literary scholarship. Professor Copeland, as general editor of the series, states his intention 'to include all of Edmund Burke's own letters, which survive wholly or in part, omitting only "public" letters—pamphlets given in the form of letters—if they were printed in Burke's lifetime or clearly intended to be printed'. Such of the letters to Burke are to be included as seem 'important in themselves or necessary to an understanding of Burke's letters'; and, on the same ground, a few of the letters to and from other members of the Burke family will also find a place in these volumes. In personally editing the first volume he has set a high standard of presentation of the documents.

This volume opens with Burke as an undergraduate at Dublin and leaves him firmly ensconced as Lord Rockingham's 'man of business'. The first third or so of the correspondence consists of Burke's letters written during the years 1744 to 1749, mostly while he was a student, to his old school friend, Richard Shackleton of Ballitore. These letters give no particular evidence of genius, but they are lively and readable, reveal the writer's already growing interest in literature, and convey something of the atmosphere of undergraduate life in mid-eighteenth-century Dublin. About another third consists of letters extending over the years from 1750, when Burke came to England to study law, till 1765, when his acceptance of employment as private secretary to Rockingham placed him on the threshold of his political career. In the last third of the volume, the correspondence reveals Burke at last launched in the company of Rockingham on the ocean of politics, and advancing rapidly from the position of mere private secretary to that of trusted friend and valued counsellor. At this point the correspondence becomes of major interest to the political historian. Apart from the important and informative letters between Burke, Rockingham, and other politicians of their connection, among the most interesting are those written by Burke to his friend, the Irish politician, Charles O'Hara: these add appreciably to our knowledge of the views held by Rockingham and his associates about the march of political events. There are occasional reminders that Burke's life was not all politics: chit-chat about artist life in London to his protégé in Italy, James Barry; stock-breeding talk to his uncle, Patrick Nagle; and, among the last letters in this volume, mention of his purchase of Gregories in Buckinghamshire and a zestful invitation to his friend Garrick to see his new home.

University College, London

IAN R. CHRISTIE

THE AGE OF IMPROVEMENT, 1783-1867. By Asa Briggs. London: Longmans. 1959. 547 pp. 35s.

The task of synoptic history, in an age of specialization, is to help us, in Shelley's phrase, 'to imagine that which we know'—as the condition of making our knowledge creative. Professor Briggs' theme is English society as a whole, and his aim to recreate for us its life. Chapters on 'Economy and Society in the 1780s' and 'Politics and Government on the Eve of the French Revolution' give him his starting point. Another on the 'Impact of War' knits together the domestic story and the movement of affairs on the other side of the Channel during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, when the two were inseparable. A later chapter on 'Britain and the World Overseas' provides an interesting, if sketchy account of foreign and colonial affairs

for the period after 1815, when interest concentrates in the main at home, on the great reshaping of society that was in progress. 'The Politics of Transition', 'Reform', 'Social Cleavage', 'The Balance of Interests', and 'The Leap in the Dark' suggest the moments of Professor Briggs' argument as to this, and a chapter on 'Victorian England' provides a 'still', as it were, of his subject as he is on the point of leaving it.

Political history is rather lightly sketched, on the whole. On the other hand, not only the course of economic development, the growth of institutions, and the change in social conditions, but also scientific thought, changes of taste, literary movements, and so forth, are treated not in separate chapters and sections, but as an integral part of the narrative, which thereby gains solidity and depth in a way not easy to achieve in so modern a period. The task of weaving with so many colours and threads, on so wide a loom, is an exacting one, and not every historian of the period will accept all of Professor Briggs' emphases, or be happy with all his omissions. Newman and Chadwick, to take two contrasting and compelling figures, get little attention; Radical movements perhaps more than they deserve; and the treatment of Irish affairs—so often English affairs as well—is scrappy. No one writing such a book, however, could hope to escape criticism. We are still much in Professor Briggs' debt, both for what he has attempted and for what he has done. He has taken the right theme, put into it a great deal of learning and enthusiasm, and kept it still a theme, and not a thesis.

In the detail of exposition, the use of a wide range of sources, notably little-known contemporary literature and controversy, and the files of the provincial press, gives freshness to his illustration. As might be expected by those who know his earlier work, idiosyncracies of provincial interest and point of view are not neglected—the theme has variety as well as unity, and the Yorkshire or Birmingham accent at times seems almost audible. The footnotes are excellent, both those of substance, adding point or illumination to the narrative, and the bibliographical references to new books and articles, and to older ones which are Professor Briggs' particular discoveries. A separate index to the footnotes makes them easy to trace, and for those to whom half the pleasure of a new book is the introduction it affords to others, compensates the brevity of the bibliography.

Three small points seem to call for correction. Professor Briggs must know as well as any of us that it was Judge John Williams and not the magistrates who sentenced the Dorchester Labourers. The statement that the Church Census of 1853 showed rather less than half the people attending service than might have been expected to do, should refer to the three services of the day taken separately; the conclusion of the Census is that rather more than half attended one of the services—surely a remarkable figure. Finally, the reference to a Reform Bill of Palmerston's in 1859 must be meant for Disraeli's.

University of Exeter

W. D. HANDCOCK

Dr. E. M. Sigsworth's *BLACK DYKE MILLS: A HISTORY* (Liverpool University Press. 1958. 385 pp. 35s.) deserves a wider audience than its title will perhaps win for it. Here are in fact two books in one. In the first three chapters of his study Dr. Sigsworth gives a lively and informative account of the growth of the West Riding worsted industry—the most complete

treatment since James' pioneer study a century ago. This alone would give importance to the book, but the more fascinating section of Dr. Sigsworth's work develops from this point. Out of the records at Queensbury he has fashioned a piece of business history which is a model of its kind: extensive in treatment, informative and, not least, thoroughly readable. Here the bare bones of the economic historian—the factory system, the decline of the hand-loom weaver, the accumulation of capital, the 'Great Depression'—take flesh upon themselves. The result is a book which should please both the general historian and the specialist, for if the latter may be irked by the occasionally laboured treatment of some topics—truck, for example—he will find more than adequate compensation in the lavishness with which Dr. Sigsworth has displayed his abundant statistical evidence.

University College, London

A. J. TAYLOR

THE CROWD IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By G. Rudé. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1959. viii + 267 pp. 35s.

This study of the composition, motivation and organization of the Parisian crowds in the French revolution is a valuable contribution to both the social and political history of the period. It was stimulated by the effort to get away from the abstractions of Michelet and Carlyle, to expose the shallowness and prejudice of Taine's analysis, and to follow up the suggestions and techniques of Lefebvre and Labrousse. It is the result of much patient and critical work among the police records of the *Archives Nationale* and at the Paris Prefecture of Police. Though these records have been used by French historians to reconstruct particular revolutionary *journées*, they have never before been investigated systematically for the whole period. Dr. Rudé is to be congratulated on having produced a fascinating study of the turbulent history of Parisian direct democracy over the whole revolutionary period, which will supplement and correct the inadequate, and often misleading, accounts of the general histories.

The author is here dealing with the revolutionary history of urban crowds of the pre-industrial age, and it is not surprising that he emphasizes their common characteristics with the agrarian riots of the *ancien régime* and with the rural disturbances of the *Grande Peur* of 1789. He is concerned, not only to depict these revolutionary crowds as things of 'flesh and blood', but also to demonstrate that they were never merely the passive instruments of the journalists and politicians of the revolutionary clubs and assemblies. Serious popular disorder in Paris between 1787 and 1795, he concludes, was predominantly the product of food scarcities, inflation and 'panic' reactions to the rumoured or real activities of monopolists and counter-revolutionaries. Political motives were, however, almost always present in these disturbances and, as the author rightly insists, in the Champ de Mars incident of July 1791 and in the Vendémiaire rising of 1795, they clearly predominated.

In most instances careful and prolonged preparation was necessary for the successful intervention of these revolutionary crowds, whether it took the form of 'military' operations, such as the fall of the Bastille or the overthrow of the monarchy, of pressure on the assemblies for the control of food and general prices, or *coups d'état*, such as the elimination of the Gironde. In this connection Dr. Rudé stresses, and repeatedly illustrates, the rôle played by secondary leaders such as Stanislas Maillard or Fournier l'Américain, the

initiative given by the women, especially in the October days, the grocery riots in 1792 and 1793 and the Germinal/Prairial risings, and the importance of such centres of 'mob' activity as the Palais Royal, the central markets and the faubourgs of Saint-Antoine and Saint Marcel. It may be that he somewhat underrates the part played by the political journalists, which was continuous, and that he could have made a greater use of the revolutionary journals—especially the lesser known ones.

In some ways the most original and interesting of Dr. Rudé's investigations are concerned with the social composition of the revolutionary crowds and here his general conclusion, on p. 178, is that 'with the single exception of the armed rebels of Vendémiaire, they were drawn in their overwhelming majority from the Parisian *sans-culottes*, from the workshop masters, craftsmen, wage-earners, shopkeepers and petty traders of the capital'. Each of the revolutionary *journées* is, however, carefully examined from this angle and the author is able to show how the particular nature of popular discontents affected the changing composition of the crowds at different periods. In general, the book is a fine, satisfying and scholarly work of informed social analysis. There are, at the end, a number of useful statistical appendices, a glossary of revolutionary terms, and an excellent map of the Paris sections.

University of Manchester

A. GOODWIN

LES SANS-CULOTTES PARISIENS EN L'AN II: MOUVEMENT POPULAIRE ET GOUVERNEMENT RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE, 2 JUIN 1793 – 9 THERMIDOR AN II. By Albert Soboul. Paris: Librairie Clavreuil. 1958. 1168 pp.

LA DÉFAITE DES SANS-CULOTTES: MOUVEMENT POPULAIRE ET RÉACTION BOURGEOISE EN L'AN III. By Kåre D. Tønnesson. Presses Universitaires d'Oslo; Paris: Librairie Clavreuil. 1959. xix + 456 pp.

The French Revolution has a natural appeal for Marxist historians. It presents them with the kind of ideological challenge with which other historical periods face Roman Catholics; and the result in each case, if it is not a mere repetition of discredited doctrinaire history, can be original and stimulating. Their cruder, old-fashioned interpretation of the French Revolution has long since broken down; at least in the West a Marxist historian has to produce a more sophisticated analysis if he is to be taken seriously. Thus Dr. George Rudé abandoned the attempt to write a history of the rôle of the wage-earners in the French Revolution as anachronistic, and on the basis of a more realistic social analysis produced his excellent study of the revolutionary mobs (crowds he prefers to call them as a less pejorative term, though the difference between crowd psychology and mob psychology is rather a fine point). We now have the authoritative work of M. Soboul on the *sans-culottes*, which has added a new chapter to revolutionary history. True, it begins by describing the Revolution as 'the crown of a long social and economic evolution which has rendered the bourgeoisie mistress of the world'. But this, and a similar concluding cliché, are the only overt concessions to dogma. The remainder of his massive and exhaustively detailed thesis bears witness to long-pursued, conscientious and objective research.

After briefly touching on the classic work of Jaurès and the more heretical views of M. Guérin, he plunges straight into the history of the *sans-culottist* movement without any preliminary attempt to say who or what the *sans-culottes* were. Indeed, apart from a few leaders they remain largely

unidentified and unclassifiable. No term of economic analysis will serve to describe them because, M. Soboul says, they were made up of a combination of socially disparate elements. 'Un bourgeois patriote et républicain', he tells us, 'est volontiers qualifié de sans-culotte.' Of 343 *commissaires civils*, just over a quarter lived 'on their property'. Hence, within the ranks of these militants of the popular societies and the Sections he finds a class conflict which stood in the way of a coherent policy. They were united only in hostility to the very rich, whom they qualified as a 'mercantile aristocracy' or 'aristocratic bourgeoisie', and in their desire to seize power by direct popular action. Although for a short period they dictated the course of the Revolution, we must not exaggerate their numbers. Even in Paris (to which both these studies are confined) they formed only a tiny fraction of the whole population. M. Soboul calculates the attendance at the Sections as between 4 and 19 per cent, and even so the militants could only control them by the exclusion of opponents, payments to supporters, packing them with outsiders, denunciations, purges, and open violence.

While *enragés* like Roux and Leclerc may have been honest idealists, the leaders of the sans-culottes—Hébert, Vincent, Chaumette—arouse only the contempt of their historian. Their hey-day was a short one. They became a separate force in June–July 1793; with the law of 14 frimaire (4 December 1793) the Committee of Public Safety reasserted its authority; the arrest, trial, and execution of the Hébertists in March 1794 marked their final downfall, and the Sections competed in denouncing their erstwhile leaders. The one virtue of these leaders, according to M. Soboul, was to have made the sans-culottes conscious of their political ends, given them a political programme—not a social one, because this was practically undistinguishable from that of the Robespierrist Jacobins (in whose sincerity M. Soboul rather wilfully refuses to believe: I should have said that Robespierre, Couthon and Saint-Just were patently, and almost pathetically, sincere: that was why they failed).

The dechristianization programme, which seemed an essential part of the sans-culottist programme to M. Guérin, is regarded by M. Soboul as a mere political manoeuvre, and a mistaken one at that, for it lacked popular support and, he believes, did much to ruin the movement. This view is open to criticism, but it is true that when we ask what were in fact the peculiar ends of the sans-culottes, it is difficult to find any but the overthrow of the revolutionary government. And if we ask why they wanted to overthrow it, we are put off with a cliché about its political incompatibility with sans-culotte democracy, which is said to reflect the social opposition of the sans-culottes and the bourgeoisie. Yet it has been admitted that the governing committees had accepted the social programme of the sans-culottes. The difference seems to be, according to M. Soboul, that the Robespierrists (who were mostly honest men) were insincere, whereas the Hébertists (who were admitted rogues) sincerely represented the views of the sans-culottes. It is all very puzzling. Perhaps we should be content to say that a lot of the rich people made quite a good thing out of the Revolution, and a lot of the poor and middling people resented this, especially when they themselves were half-starving. But I think that M. Soboul is struggling to produce something more ideological. Fortunately he fails. The virtue of his book is not in its attempted explanations, but in the mass of new material with which

he has presented the historian. It is a major contribution to the new research which on all sides is forcing on us a total reappraisal of the French Revolution.

We might perhaps have been spared some of the final 200 pages, but the author is not personally to be blamed for the excessive length, which has now become *de rigueur* for a French doctoral thesis. He continues the story of the Sections up to the 9 Thermidor, and it is then taken up by a Norwegian historian, Mr. Tønnesson. The problem now is whether, or in what sense, the sans-culottist movement survived the fall of the Hébertists. In M. Soboul's sense I do not see how it can have done so; but Mr. Tønnesson defines the sans-culottes as any 'members of the *menu peuple* taking revolutionary action', which seems to me to deny the validity of M. Soboul's identification of a specific sans-culottist movement. His main thesis is that the insurrectionary movements of Germinal and Prairial year III represent the survival of Hébertism and not of Jacobinism. He is probably right in thinking that the Jacobins of the Convention did not instigate, and were only reluctant and eleventh-hour supporters of these risings. His book adds a certain amount of new material, but only modifies in a few minor respects the detailed account of these *journées* by Cobb and Rudé in the *Revue historique*. What is most new in the book is unfortunately what is most speculative. The suggestion, partly on the evidence of that imaginative conspirator, Buonarroti, of a 'prison plot' behind the Prairial movement is ingenious but very hypothetical.

The sans-culottes are now definitely placed on the agenda of Revolutionary history. One immediate result of M. Soboul's masterly researches is that a reconsideration of M. Guérin's interpretation is forced upon us: if the sans-culottes are not his *bras-nus* under a different name, they are remarkably like them. But this is not intended to pre-judge the issue: the debate is only opened not closed.

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ALFRED COBBAN

Interest in popular movements has been stimulated in recent years, notably by Dr. Rudé's studies of the 'mob' in eighteenth-century London, and of the 'crowd' in the French Revolution. Dr. E. J. Hobsbawm's *PRIMITIVE REBELS* (Manchester University Press, 1959. 208 pp. 25s.) is of a different character. It is not based so much on original documents as on a remarkable wealth of secondary material in a number of languages, supported in some instances by field work. In time, the movements which he studies are confined mainly to the post-French Revolution period, but they range geographically from Calabria, Andalusia and Sicily to nonconformist England, and in complexity from banditry to international freemasonry. It is notable that rural movements figure as prominently as those of the urban proletariat. The book tends to be discursive and repetitive. The reader has the uneasy feeling that mass hysteria born of semi-starvation, religious emotionalism, and even simple crime, are given a 'social' significance which is not justified by documentary evidence. On this account the chapter on the English labour sects, which is less recondite, appears to be the most successful. Nevertheless, the idea of comparing such disparate movements and bringing out their common elements has proved to be a fruitful one. Besides, the author shows a remarkable awareness of the motives underlying popular disturbances, and his tentative suggestions will help researchers to know what to look out for

in their detailed studies. Its range makes the book a *tour de force* which will interest many readers who are not specialists.

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DAVID WILLIAMS

BRITISH INTELLIGENCE OF EVENTS IN GREECE, 1824-1827: A DOCUMENTARY COLLECTION. By D. Dakin. Athens: London, International University Booksellers, Store Street, W.C.1. 1959. 184 pp. 21s.

This volume, extracted from the *Bulletin of the Historical and Ethnographical Society of Greece*, vol. xiii, comprises an introduction of 15 pages, followed by more than a hundred annotated documents, selected from the large collection in the Public Record Office of correspondence (translated copies) intercepted by the British government in the Ionian Islands during the Greek war of independence. These 'Ionian Papers' were brought to Canning's notice at the time, and were probably the means by which he became more fully aware of the activities of the French and Capodistrian parties among the Greeks. The papers have been used to a small extent by historians, and some have been printed from originals found elsewhere; but this hitherto unpublished selection first gives a vivid picture of the complicated manoeuvres, especially those of the agents working for the choice of a French prince for Greece. These agents felt or feigned an astonishing optimism, in spite of a doubtful mandate and a suspicious reception. It is often hard to accept their letters as evidence of what was going on, or even of what the writers believed was going on; at least they tell us what impression the writer is hoping to make on his correspondent, and that can be revealing. Dr. Dakin's familiarity with the personalities makes it possible for him to explain much that would be quite unintelligible without his notes. The short bibliography is specially useful for its references to contemporary sources which have been published in Greek.

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G. W. CRAWLEY

THE BOARD OF TRADE AND THE FREE-TRADE MOVEMENT, 1830-42. By Lucy Brown. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1958. 245 pp. 30s.

The fiscal ineptitude of the Whigs between 1830 and 1841 has puzzled many historians. Earl Grey and his colleagues had the best financial experts of the time at their back. Poulett Thomson at the Board of Trade had under him a group of able officials (McGregor, Porter, Deacon Hume) who were not only fanatical reformers but also more vocal than any modern civil servant can be. Yet to the end of the 'thirties the British tariff remained 'infinitely more complicated and extended than it need be'. Why was Peel able to do what the Whigs failed to do? This is the main question which Miss Brown has tried to answer. A further purpose of her book is to discuss the extent to which public opinion and fiscal policy were influenced by expert advisers and particularly by the officials of the Board of Trade. In studying these and various related questions Miss Brown has shown exemplary zeal and authoritative scholarship. She has worked under the best auspices and has found her original sources in some unlikely places as well as in the more familiar hunting grounds; among the many admirable features of her book, her useful account of the statistical work of the Board of Trade deserves special praise.

It is not Miss Brown's fault that she cannot find clear-cut answers to her

main questions. The economists and statisticians of the 1830s seem to have exerted little direct influence upon the statesmen responsible for fiscal changes; no doubt the experts had an important indirect influence upon policy through their effect upon 'public opinion', but this is hard to prove. To explain why Peel was able to do in the 1840s what the Whigs failed to do earlier, involves the comparative assessment of various imponderable factors. There are some indications in Miss Brown's book that Whig fiscal initiative may have been weakened by friction at the Board of Trade between Poulett Thomson and the civil servants. Moreover, the division of responsibility between the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade must have involved conflict between diplomatic and economic considerations in arranging commercial treaties. But the main reasons for Whig tardiness were probably more general. In 1830 neither the politicians nor the public, whether they were Whigs or Tories, felt that fiscal questions had immediate urgency; the struggle for parliamentary reform took precedence. By 1841 the Whigs were ready to initiate drastic tariff changes, but by that time they were too weak to do anything. The situation had been shrewdly summed up by Poulett Thomson when he thankfully left the Board of Trade to become Governor-General of Canada: 'There is no chance of carrying the House with one for any great commercial reforms . . . If Peel were in, he might do this, as he could muzzle or keep away his Tory allies, and we should support him.'

University of Manchester

ARTHUR REDFORD

THE SOUTH WALES COAL INDUSTRY, 1841-1875. By J. H. Morris and L. J. Williams. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 1958. 289 pp. 25s. This well-written book is the first of two volumes on the South Wales coal industry from the early 1840s to the First World War. The period covered in this study forms an entity both in the economic history of the region and in that of its coal industry. As far as the latter is concerned, the period is delimited on the one hand by the development of steam locomotion on land and sea, and on the other by the rapid acceleration of growth in the last two decades of the century. The intervening years saw a trebling of output, largely as a consequence of expansion in the eastern parts of the area, where the Aberdare and Rhondda valleys were opened up and the ironmasters increasingly moved into the coal trade. Associated with these changes, part cause part effect, were improvements in transport facilities: and, as a reflection of both factors, the emergence of Cardiff as the major port of the coal-field, rapidly out-stripping both Newport and Swansea, the two most important shipping centres of earlier days.

The most valuable sections of the book are those which deal with advances in techniques and the structure of the industry. The need to exploit the deeper seams meant that by 1875 the pit had superseded the level, and the change brought with it new responsibilities which were only slowly appreciated by both management and men. Yet substantial progress had been made by the end of the period, although achievements in terms either of safety or productivity still fell below those of other regions. The important rôle of government action, through the inspectors of mines, is well brought out by the authors. In turn, the need for deeper sinkings was mirrored in the substantial growth of the unit of production and in the average size of the firm engaged in the industry.

There is, too, much that is interesting in the chapters on the social conditions of those who were employed in the industry. Despite sharp fluctuations in employment, it would appear that, in general, the miners were a comparatively well-paid section of the community: and it might well be that the reasons for the long history of labour unrest on the coalfield should be sought, not in wage difficulties, so much as in the poverty of a traditionless social environment. A comparative study of attitudes in the older and newer industrial areas of the coalfield would, in this respect, have been valuable.

The book would also have gained considerably in perspective had the local industry been placed more firmly against the background of British coal mining as a whole. Despite its increase in output, South Wales barely kept pace with the country's total production, and the relative importance of the area remained unchanged between 1841 and 1875. The reason for this is clear. The principal markets of the coal industry were still overwhelmingly internal—in metal smelting and manufacturing, in gas production and domestic consumption—and in these South Wales suffered a relative disadvantage. The markets of this coalfield conformed to the general pattern in that out of a production of 16½ million tons in 1875 only six million were shipped, of which two-thirds went abroad. By over-emphasizing the steam-coals—certainly the most dramatic and, eventually, the most significant development—the authors have tended to get the picture out of balance. The period was essentially one of transition, in which the new elements had not superseded the old; as is seen in the organization of trade and in the dominance of local figures in the industry.

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A. H. JOHN

DARWIN AND THE DARWINIAN REVOLUTION. By Gertrude Himmelfarb. London: Chatto and Windus. 1959. ix + 422 pp. 42s.

DARWIN AND THE GENERAL READER: THE RECEPTION OF DARWIN'S THEORY OF EVOLUTION IN THE BRITISH PERIODICAL PRESS, 1859–1872. By Alvar Ellegård. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell. 1958. 394 pp. 35 kr.

T. H. HUXLEY: SCIENTIST, HUMANIST, EDUCATOR. By Cyril Bibby. London: Watts. 1959. xxii + 330 pp. 25s.

Darwin and Huxley, though they were contemporaries and associates, belong to different scientific ages. Darwin was one of the last of the great scientific amateurs, Huxley one of the first of the professionals. Huxley found it difficult at first to make a living out of science at all. Darwin had no need to do so, for he had a good house of his own and an income, in the first year of his marriage, of £1250. Huxley, Dr. Himmelfarb suggests, was pre-eminently the modern intellectual because he regarded 'heresy rather than orthodoxy as the hall-mark of truth'. Her book is a study of Darwin's life and ideas and of the impact which they made upon his times. Dr. Ellegård is concerned with the discussion of those ideas by the public and in the press, and with the controversies which took place between 1859 and 1872. Dr. Bibby concentrates primarily on Huxley the educator rather than on Huxley the scientist.

Ellegård stresses that contemporary interest in Darwin's theories arose out of their religious implications; evolution, natural selection, the descent of man all involved major problems for traditional Christianity. Dr. Bibby too

has much to say about the theological and moral controversies in which Huxley was so active. Both authors seem to share some common suppositions. Dr. Ellegård says that religious people one hundred years ago 'were not yet prepared to accept that complete divorce of the world of facts from the world of values, which the advance of science and of scientific method made more and more imperative'. Huxley thought that those who regarded science and the book of Genesis as plainly in conflict were honest and enlightened, those who believed in the literal infallibility of scripture were honest but impervious to argument, but that those who tried to keep a foot in both camps were worthy of contempt. He had, Dr. Bibby says, a 'deep disgust with all double-speak'. The issues are perhaps more complex than the phrase suggests, and the divorce between matters of fact and matters of value may also not be entirely self-evident. As Bibby remarks, Huxley's expression of his own views sometimes lacked 'a proper agnostic humility'.

Though Darwin himself came to believe that his views were incompatible with religious belief, Dr. Himmelfarb considers that the religious issue had played no particular part in his own thinking, and that he was therefore not prepared for the prominence which it assumed in the debate over the *Origin*. The real point at issue in those discussions, as she shrewdly points out, was not a conflict between theists who rejected the book and atheists who favoured it, but between the 'reconcilers' and the 'irreconcilables', those who thought it compatible with Christianity and those who did not. Naturally both viewpoints could be found both in the religious and in the non-religious camp; even such an 'irreconcilable' as Huxley, she thinks, for all his tendency to 'smite the Amalekites', had a basically religious, metaphysical cast of mind.

Darwin's scientific apprenticeship really began with the voyage of the *Beagle*, on which he sailed only a few months after he had come down from Cambridge in 1831. His primary interests at first were geological; he had, before he sailed, bought a copy of the first volume of Lyell's famous *Principles of Geology*, and was converted during the expedition to Lyell's views. Many of the ideas which he discussed in the published *Journal* of his voyage were already standard points of scientific discussion, and he still at this time believed in the permanence of species and in the possibility of creation at different times and places. There is, Dr. Himmelfarb concludes, no real continuity between the *Beagle* and *Origin*. It seems to have been in the spring or early summer of 1837 that he became convinced of the mutability of species as a general explanation of the relations of species with one another. In 1842 and 1844 he drew up sketches of the theory, but other work intervened, and it was only the knowledge that Alfred Russell Wallace had come upon the same idea which led to their joint paper to the Linnean Society in 1858 and to the publication of the *Origin* in 1859. After describing the development of Darwin's theory, Dr. Himmelfarb considers the views of his supporters and of his opponents, though this reviewer is quite incompetent to form any judgement of the scientific issues involved. It is noteworthy that neither Lyell, nor Huxley, nor Joseph Hooker, with all of whom Darwin discussed his theory before the *Origin* was published, accepted that theory in the early stages.

Dr. Ellegård, in describing the religious and philosophical issues as they appeared to contemporaries, lays much emphasis on the difficulties produced

by the abandonment of the belief in Divine Providence and in Design as a result of the idea of Natural Selection. It has often been claimed that Darwin shifted the whole grounds of the argument from questions of purpose and intention to those of adaptation and change. In one sense this is obviously true, but Dr. Himmelfarb also brings out the teleological aspect of Darwin's ideas in that the *Origin* does speak of a benevolent providence in nature. Ellegård regards both Darwin and Huxley as philosophical empiricists in the tradition of J. S. Mill, yet he points out that Darwin was criticized by many of his contemporaries as too hypothetical. Whewell had insisted that hypotheses must themselves be 'close to the facts . . . clear and appropriate', and Darwin laid himself open to criticism as the propounder of hypothetical arguments on subjects which were not ready for such treatment. Dr. Himmelfarb shows that he was in fact a very bold and radical theorizer, moving swiftly to very far reaching conclusions, and not at all a thinker whose theories were constructed by the patient accumulation of evidence.

Her tendency is to minimize the revolutionary nature of Darwinian ideas, and to say that the *Origin* did not make a revolution but gave recognition to one which had already occurred. The biological theory of evolution had already been a subject of controversy for half a century, and evolutionary views had lain behind such famous and very different books as *In Memoriam* and *Vestiges of Creation*. The passion for geologizing had already broken down the traditional view of the antiquity of the universe and of man, and a religious crisis was on the way long before 1859. Dr. Himmelfarb regards the Darwinian revolution as conservative in character because the observations on which it was based were familiar and because it shared with traditional ideas 'the belief in an objective knowledge of nature'. 'Revolution' is the most question-begging of words; it can bear almost any meaning which may be put upon it. There is one sense, however, in which the *Origin* does represent a real landmark; it seemed to many of those who did not understand its science to open the gates to a new world, freed from the shackles of the old. Dr. Ellegård quotes a remark made in 1861 by G. H. Lewes that Darwinism was eagerly accepted 'by insurgent minds, because it is thought destructive of the old doctrines'. On the intellectual and philosophical background Dr. Himmelfarb writes with much more perception than Dr. Ellegård. He does not discuss the Bridgewater Treatises, undertaken to demonstrate 'the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, as manifested in the Creation'. He does not suggest that the problem of a liberal interpretation of religious truth had already been considered by thinkers like Thomas Arnold and Milman, while German theology had been studied at the beginning of the century by theologians like Bishop Herbert Marsh.

It was believed by some that Darwin had replaced God by Satan as the ruler of the universe by enthroning cruelty as the governing force in nature. Huxley, on the other hand, argued in old age that, whereas, biologically speaking, man had won his predominant position by cunning and ruthlessness, in society he could progress only by combating and reversing this biological law. The social and political conclusions drawn from Darwinism were, as Dr. Himmelfarb rightly shows, extremely varied; both individualists and extreme socialists found in it weapons for their armoury, and the deductions which can be drawn from it are probably less revolutionary and far-reaching than they are often said to be.

Huxley was profoundly interested in man's life in society. Though Dr. Bibby devotes some of his space to Huxley's scientific work, his main concern is with his hero as an educator and a public figure. For all his tendency to hit hard in controversy, there was a very likable boyishness and zest about Huxley. His range of achievement, even among Victorians, was remarkable. His popular addresses and occasional writings spread the gospel of science throughout the land. He was a pioneer in promoting scientific and technical education. He did important work in the early days of the London School Board. He played a part in the creation of a teaching University of London and he had been an active Lord Rector of the University of Aberdeen. He wrote in 1865 to the German biologist Haeckel: 'It is the organization of knowledge rather than its increase which is wanted just now', and in his generation men were conscious of a great need for educational and social organization of the kind which he worked so hard to provide. In directing our attention to that side of his achievement Dr. Bibby reminds us of the extent to which we still depend on the administrative and social structure created by the Victorians. Huxley was, as his grandson Sir Julian reminds us in a foreword to this book, 'much more than Darwin's bull dog'. He is a very important figure in his own right.

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JOHN ROACH

ALEXANDER II AND THE MODERNIZATION OF RUSSIA by W. E. Mosse (London: English Universities Press. 1959. 191 pp. 8s. 6d.) is a noteworthy addition to the 'Teach Yourself History' library. The aim of this series—to portray an epoch through a biography of its most outstanding figure—is particularly well served by the choice of Alexander II, whose historic achievements are not always sufficiently appreciated amongst non-specialists. The Emancipation of the serfs and the other great reforms of the 1860s which enabled Russia to make striking progress in many fields owed much to the Tsar's personal initiative, just as their limitations were largely the product of his own inconsistency and hesitation. In this vividly-written study, Dr. Mosse skilfully dovetails a penetrating appraisal of Alexander's character into a concise, objective, and accurate account of the history of Russia during his reign.

This is a thoughtful and stimulating work—not least because Dr. Mosse sees his period in wider perspective, and hints discreetly at the intriguing contemporary parallel. The age of Alexander was one of the periodical 'thaws' in Russian history. After the 'freezing' of life and thought under Nicholas I, his successor had somehow to reconcile progress towards freedom, legality and decentralization of power with the preservation of order and stability within his Empire. Alexander had no choice but to compromise; the tragic paradox was that in so doing he fatally undermined his own authority. By the end of his reign he had become isolated from both the conservative and liberal wings of Russian public opinion, and his assassination in 1881 was thus, in a sense, no accident. Had the attempt failed, Dr. Mosse suggests, he might well have succumbed to a peaceful palace revolution. 'The end would still have been Alexander III, Pobedonostsev and Katkov.' Liberal democrats often tend to underestimate the formidable practical problems that face any autocrat who seeks to make a radical break with the heritage of the past.

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J. L. H. KEEP

MIKHAILOVSKY AND RUSSIAN POPULISM. By J. H. Billington. Clarendon Press: O.U.P. 1958. xi + 217 pp. 30s.

From 1870 till after the turn of the century Nicolai Mikhailovsky was a leading figure of the Russian intelligentsia. He was a prolific contributor to the 'thick' journals of his day, and became the editor of one of the most important of them. He drew his ideas mainly from western sources—Auguste Comte being the most influential: this has led some critics to hail him as 'the father of Russian sociology'. Unfortunately, though extremely learned, he was a ponderous and humourless writer. Nobody will ever re-read the mass of his essays except as a task of historical research; and one may therefore be grateful to Mr. Billington, who has done the job and made a great deal of material painlessly accessible to future research workers and historians. In this respect his volume is impeccable. It is perhaps a venial fault that, in an attempt to add substance to an amorphous and intractable subject, Mr. Billington has exaggerated both the coherence and the importance of Mikhailovsky's views. This distortion of perspective already appears in the title of the book. Mikhailovsky carried the *narodnik* label mainly because there was no alternative available for an intellectual of his time who was in revolt against the Tsarist autocracy but was neither a Marxist nor even a revolutionary. But he was never a typical *narodnik*. Had Mikhailovsky survived 1905, it is reasonable to suppose that he would have become a Kadet or even an Octobrist. He counts for far less in the history of populism than, say, Bakunin who was his opposite in almost every respect. And to call Mikhailovsky 'the greatest of Russia's nineteenth-century radical humanists' surely borders on the absurd—unless one adopts some exotic definition of the term which excludes Belinsky, Herzen and Chernyshevsky. Nevertheless, in spite of its faults, this is a useful piece of work in a field in which Mr. Billington will probably long remain without a rival.

Trinity College, Cambridge

E. H. CARR

TSARIST RUSSIA AND BALKAN NATIONALISM. RUSSIAN INFLUENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF BULGARIA AND SERBIA, 1879-1886. By Charles Jelavich. University of California Press: Cambridge University Press. 1958. 304 pp. 34s.

The author of this book is one of the growing number of historians who have recently studied the aftermath of the Eastern Crisis of 1875-8. The failure of attempts to control the Balkans in 1877-8 nevertheless left Russia with sufficient influence to play an important rôle in the principalities of Bulgaria, Montenegro and Serbia. Ties of race and religion, and the Russian record in the struggle against Turkey, gave Tsarist envoys an advantage which they fully exploited. Even so, they met with doubtful success, as Professor Jelavich shows in his detailed account of the different issues in Russo-Bulgarian and Russo-Serbian relations. He attributes the failure of Russia in the first place to Alexander III who was as ill-suited to deal with the intricacies of Balkan nationalism as were most of his military and diplomatic representatives in south-east Europe. Contradictory policies were supported, and Russian prestige suffered as much from flagrant intervention in the domestic affairs of Bulgaria as from her unwillingness to back to the hilt Serbian and Bulgarian claims against Turkey. The relations between the great powers, which Professor Jelavich discusses in connection with developments

in the Balkans prevented the Tsar from undertaking the military occupation of Sofia. Furthermore, previous arrangements with the Ballplatz, and Serbian disappointment with Russia's attitude in 1875-8, kept Serbia uneasily in the Austro-Hungarian sphere of influence in the period under discussion.

Professor Jelavich's work is based on research in the Public Record Office and the Austrian archives, and he has had access to the private papers of Giers, the Russian foreign minister in the 1880s. In addition, he has made good use of numerous works by Bulgarian, Russian and Serbian scholars. His careful documentation and objective approach make a valuable addition to our knowledge of Russian diplomacy in action in the Balkans.

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IVAN AVAKUMOVIC

Very little study has hitherto been made of German diplomacy in the Far East before the 1890s. Dr. Helmuth Stoecker's *DEUTSCHLAND UND CHINA IM 19. JAHRHUNDERT* (Berlin: Rütten und Loening, 1958, 307 pp. D.M. 17.50) is a painstaking and lucid survey. It is a mainly political account, with a background of reference to the growth of German trading interests. It makes very thorough use of the existing literature and of the documents, chiefly English and French, already published; its principal new source consists of unpublished German documents, which are copiously quoted, with a selection printed at the end in full. They include early records of the legation at Peking which have recently been handed over by the Chinese government to that of the D.D.R. Dr. Stoecker identifies European diplomacy in the Far East with European imperialism, and in the case of Germany he finds its 'prehistory' going unexpectedly far back. German businessmen were turning their eyes towards China as early as the 1840s; it is of interest to note that the Prussian government in sending a naval expedition to the Far East in 1860 to open up political and commercial relations was inspired primarily by a desire to establish Prussia as spokesman for all the German states. One of its intentions even in 1860 was to get hold of some island or other territory that could be turned into a German Hongkong; Chapter V shows how this ambition persisted, and how in 1870-1 there was influential support for the idea, though Bismarck decided against it, of annexing Cochin-China from France. Ironically the French had helped to put the idea of a Far Eastern colony into Prussia's head, an instance of the complicated game played by the Powers in pushing and pulling each other on at China's expense. The game is well illustrated in a long chapter on the war of 1883-5 in which the French seized Tongking, and during which the Far East can be very distinctly seen as a corner of Bismarck's chessboard. He did his best to egg the French on, his fundamental aim being to weaken them in Europe. There was also the calculation that French expansion in the Far East would help to embroil France with England and weaken the latter's predominance to the advantage of Germany. But one of the threads running through this book is the chronic nervousness of foreigners in China about what might happen if the West goaded her too far. During the Ili crisis of 1880, for instance, the German minister Von Brandt was afraid that Peking's resistance to Russian demands might lead to a national upheaval against all foreigners. In the following century the West did goad the old China too far; the new China is the result.

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V. G. KIERNAN

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. VOL. III. THE EMPIRE-COMMONWEALTH 1870-1919. Edited by the late E. A. Benians, Sir James Butler, and C. E. Carrington. Cambridge University Press. 1959. xxi + 948 pp. 100s.

THE IMPERIAL IDEA AND ITS ENEMIES. By A. P. Thornton. London: Macmillan. 1959. xiv + 370 pp. 30s.

Vol. III of the *Cambridge History* completes the enterprise by bringing the story of the general development of the British Empire from about 1870 (where it was left by Vol. II) to 1919. No further volumes are contemplated, and the completed series now stands as a monument to the centuries in which men could confidently use the expression, the British Empire. In this volume the white dominions are seen achieving their independence in everything but foreign policy (and even there being listened to with increasing respect), but there is no hint that independence would be the portion of the brown and black parts of the Empire. On p. 1, in a short opening chapter by the late E. A. Benians, who was the architect of this volume, the point is made that, while self-government was regarded in 1869 as 'the natural tendency and necessity of English colonies', the non-white settlements of the Empire were thought of as 'necessarily remaining in an inferior political status, either because of the character of their population, or from other causes'.

The dichotomy between the colonies of settlement and those of administration is maintained throughout the volume. In an excellent chapter on the Colonial Office by Mr. R. B. Pugh, James Stephen is seen as founding 'traditions that are still at work in the Colonial and Commonwealth Relations Offices—that the welfare of native peoples is paramount and that the autonomy of Commonwealth countries is to be continuously championed' (p. 723). Today, as the quotation indicates, these two traditions are embodied in two separate departments, which sometimes give conflicting advice to the British government. During the period with which this volume deals, both were embodied in the Colonial Office; and, if the volume has a theme, it is that the traditions were often at variance, especially in dealing with Africa. Lord Blachford, who had retired six years before as Permanent Under-Secretary, wrote in 1877: 'A few men of superior intelligence, with an Anglo-Saxon desire to make fortunes, cannot, from the nature of the case, be trusted to take care of the often conflicting interests of an inferior race' (p. 60). Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, who had served as Colonial Secretary, wrote to Joseph Chamberlain in 1899: 'We can never govern from Downing Street any part of South Africa in which the whites are strong enough to defend themselves against the natives' (p. 355n). Canada, Australia, New Zealand, are settled imperial problems by the time this volume opens; South Africa remains a running sore, with Central and East Africa showing signs of becoming the same.

However, the purpose of a massive volume like this is not to pursue a single theme, but to describe the general conditions of imperial change. Each of four main topics is continued through a series of chapters, while six others, which are connected with the main topics but can be treated separately in some detail, are given chapters of their own. The four main questions are Imperial Questions in British Politics (traced by Sir James Butler, Mr. R. E. Robinson, and, in part, Mr. A. F. Madden); International Politics (four chapters by Mr. F. H. Hinsley); Finance, Trade and Commerce

(two chapters by the late Mr. E. A. Benians and Professor G. S. Graham); and Defence (two very full chapters by Mr. Brian Tunstall, on defence policy up to 1914, and another on the imperial part in the war, by Professor C. E. Carrington). The separate topics are The Opening of Africa (Professor Jack Simmons), The Empire and the U.S.A. (Dr. Anthony Steel), The Imperial Conference (Mr. J. E. Tyler), The Empire and the Peace Treaties (Mr. K. C. Wheare), International Law and Colonial Questions (Sir H. Lauterpacht and Professor R. Y. Jennings), and The Colonial Office (Mr. R. B. Pugh). There is also an immense Bibliography by Mr. A. T. Milne.

Two questions naturally arise: is the volume's emphasis right; and how well have the individual contributors accomplished their tasks? My answer to the first is that the balance has been weighted too much on the side of general international issues, and not enough on that of the working of colonial policy in dependent territories. Mr. Hinsley's chapters on the rivalry of the powers are excellent diplomatic history, and, of them, Chaps. IV, VIII and XIII have a good deal to do with the framework of British colonial policy. But Chap. XIV has little connection with imperial questions. The chapter on International Law, while it does deal with some matters involving the colonies, deals even more with general issues of international relations. As against this somewhat disproportionate attention to the world at large, there is a noticeable lack of treatment of the internal development of the non-white colonies. This is especially serious, since the overall plan of the History was that the first three volumes would deal not only with the general development of the Empire, but also with the dependencies, while the remaining five provided detailed treatment of India and the white dominions. In this volume only Mr. Madden and the writers on economic development are able to spend time on the internal affairs of the dependencies; and their time is limited and necessarily hurried. The volume would have been more useful to the history students of the future if it had given much more attention to the non-white dependencies; for those students will want to know, above all, what were the roots of the nationalist movements which sprang up in the 1940s and 50s.

One's answer to the second question will be affected to some extent by the personalities which the writers display. The general level of competence is high. Some chapters show evidence of work on original sources; others, perhaps of necessity, do not. I found the most satisfactory chapters to be those by Mr. Benians, for their broad view and homely language; by Professor Simmons, for its sharp clarity and its penetration into other fields than the political; by Mr. Tunstall, for their mastery of a complicated subject and of its basic unity; by Mr. Madden, for a brave and successful attempt to describe a climate of opinion and its influence upon politics; by Mr. Wheare, for its accuracy in description and its skill in extrapolation; and by Mr. Pugh, for an account of the changes in the Colonial Office which make it a human institution and not simply a government department.

Professor Thornton's book is an attempt to combine history with political comment by way of an epigrammatic and highly individual style of writing. He believes that an 'idea' in politics can 'force circumstance itself to obey its dictation' if it has sufficient force; by an idea he means much the same as Sorel meant by a 'myth'. His book is intended to see whether Imperialism, as understood by men like Milner, was an idea of this kind. To find the answer

he ranges over the imperial and foreign policy of the last hundred years, looking for manifestations of the imperial idea and trying to measure its force against that of its adversaries. Such a theme is challenging. Imperialism, as a political notion, did not mean simply one thing: it meant a great many, none of which could be regarded as so much of its essence as to justify the appropriation of the term over a long period of time. The plurality of imperialist views at the turn of the century is well brought out by Mr. Madden in Chap. X of the *Cambridge History*. In the same way, the opponents of Imperialism were multifarious. One can hardly say that a straight choice of Imperialism or non-Imperialism, in Professor Thornton's sense of the word, has ever been presented to either the British public or the British Government. There have always been complications; the choice has been askew in some way or other. What Professor Thornton does is to identify an extremist conception of Imperialism and then arrange the history of the times in terms of support or opposition to this conception. The result is stimulating, but also fatiguing and exasperating. The total effect is not helped by either the difficulty of deciding when the author is making indirect quotations and when he is speaking in his own voice, or his obsession with the Suez affair of 1956; his voice is both shrill and hoarse at the end.

University of Leicester

J. D. B. MILLER

Professor Ludwig Zimmermann's *DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK IN DER ÄRA DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK* (Göttingen, Musterschmidt-Verlag. 1958. 486 pp. DM. 35) is the first comprehensive treatment of its subject to utilize most of the published, and some of the unpublished documentary material available. Zimmermann concludes that military weakness was largely responsible for the failures of Weimar foreign policy, and that the refusal of other Powers to remedy in time German grievances against Versailles probably destroyed both the Weimar Republic and the peace. This sufficiently indicates that Germanophobes and Germanophiles alike will find in this book what they are seeking. Uncommitted historians will want to see a great deal more evidence dispassionately collected and sifted before making up their minds.

University of Hull

FRANK SPENCER

The papers of Admiral Vernon relating to operations in the West Indies, 1739-42, and again in the Channel in 1745, have been ably edited by Mr. B. L. Ranft. *THE VERNON PAPERS* (London: The Navy Records Society. 1958. xi + 587 pp. 45s.) are perhaps most valuable for the light they throw on technical questions of naval administration and tactics. As was customary with naval men in the eighteenth century, Vernon also had his entanglements with domestic politics.

ILL-STARRED GENERAL, BRADDOCK OF THE COLDSTREAM GUARDS (University of Pittsburg Press: O.U.P. 1958. 335 pp. 48s.) by L. McCardell, a distinguished American journalist, assembles a mass of information on Braddock's career. The account is well-rounded and fully documented, but occasionally loaded to excess with detail not strictly relevant to its main theme.

It is common to treat Voltaire as in politics an apologist for the more or less enlightened despots, and it is true that he had closer relations with Frederick II and Catherine II than might have pleased a man of the finest political morality. Mr. Peter Gay, in a thorough study of VOLTAIRE'S POLITICS: THE POET AS REALIST (Princeton University Press: O.U.P. 1959. 417 pp. 48s.) shows that for all his admiration for efficient, and even strong government, Voltaire never abandoned his belief in toleration, freedom of opinion and the rule of law. In politics he is correctly described as a realist and this is not incompatible with a measure of Machiavellianism.

The translation of eleven chapters of Karl Barth's *Die Protestantische Theologie im 19 Jahrhundert* under the title FROM ROUSSEAU TO RITSCHL (London: S.C.M. Press. 1959. 435 pp. 42s.) will be appreciated primarily for the light it throws on the thought of its author and on some of the influences that have helped to develop his theology. It is significant that on 'Man in the eighteenth century' he should be superficial and sometimes just wrong, whereas his chapter on Rousseau is a penetrating and even brilliant analysis. From Rousseau we go to German thought, beginning with Lessing and moving through Kant, Herder, Novalis, Hegel, Schleiermacher, Feuerbach and Strauss to Ritschl.

The well-known study of the great Committee of Public Safety by R. R. Palmer, TWELVE WHO RULED (Yale University Press: O.U.P. 417 pp. 55s.) which has been out of print for several years, has now been republished.

By a long head, the Smiths of Nottingham were the first professional country bankers, and the family continues to be of the first importance in economic affairs. Like them, SMITHS THE BANKERS 1658-1958 by G. A. S. L. Leighton-Boyce (National Provincial Bank. 1958. xiii + 337 pp.) touches on much besides banking itself. It gives valuable sketches of the main towns, apart from London, in which the Smiths established banks: Nottingham, Lincoln, Hull, and Derby. There is an occasional sidelight on politics, and there is a good flavouring of personalities, particularly in the fascinating account of the eventual absorption of the banks into a bigger group, which in turn joined the National Provincial Bank. The treatment of banking operations is both expert and literary, and should be acceptable even to those timorous of finance. Although odd points of detail make one wish that the manuscript had been more thoroughly vetted, they are as dust compared with the generally high quality of this important addition to banking and general economic history.

IN A GREAT SWISS NEWSPAPER: THE STORY OF THE NEUE ZÜRCHER ZEITUNG (Oxford University Press. 1959. 90 pp. 18s.) Dr. Elizabeth Wiske-mann sketches the history of the influential Zürich paper founded in 1780, mainly in terms of the political views expressed in its columns.

John Vincent Barry, a Judge of the Supreme Court of Victoria, shows in ALEXANDER MACONCHIE OF NORFOLK ISLAND (Oxford University Press. 1959. 277 pp. 50s.) that this administrator of nineteenth-century prisons in Australia and England has been unfairly treated by historians, and that he

is in fact to be reckoned as one of the more notable prison reformers of his time.

A lively and documented account of some of the more picturesque elements in Australian society in its formative years—free immigrants, convicts, gold-diggers, bush-rangers, stockmen, swagmen—is provided by Russel Ward in *THE AUSTRALIAN LEGEND* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press. 1958. 262 pp. 45s.). The author quotes extensively from contemporary writing and makes much use of Australian ballads.

A HISTORY OF WELLINGTON COLLEGE 1859-1959 by David Newsome (London: John Murray. 1959. xii + 414 pp. 30s.) is a detailed and well-documented account, which will be of interest to historians of education as well as Wellingtonians.

Sir Ivor Jennings' *CABINET GOVERNMENT* (Third edition. Cambridge University Press. 1959. 587 pp. 60s.) has been fully revised and the addition of new material has made it longer by over 100 pages than the first edition. The original plan has been kept, but 'the accumulated precedents of more than twenty years have been added', illustrating the recent development of the cabinet and other organs of central government and the conventions governing their operation.

Miss Hilda Grieve, an archivist at the Essex Record Office, has produced in *THE GREAT TIDE* (Chelmsford: County Council of Essex. 1959. 883 pp. 30s.) a fine piece of contemporary history. The first 65 pages are devoted to the history of the defences of Essex against the sea. The remainder is a detailed account of the flood disaster of 1953 and its sequel, well-written and provided with maps and illustrations.

We do not usually record works of contemporary history but the bicentenary of the *Annual Register* is surely an occasion for an exception. *THE ANNUAL REGISTER OF WORLD EVENTS: A REVIEW OF THE YEAR 1958* (London: Longmans. 1959. xxxi + 589 pp. 126s.) is edited by Mr. Ivison Macadam and has an introduction by Professor Asa Briggs. The references in this introduction to the association of Burke with the early volumes could have been less speculative if use had been made of the work of Professor Copeland on this point. The Historical Section, which Burke had written single-handed, is now shared between some 44 authors. The absence of the unifying force of a single mind is hardly felt, since the views of the contributors are not put forward, though they can be read, sometimes, between the lines. The speciality of the *Annual Register* is to present a detailed chronicle of world events in connected prose, and the success with which its galaxy of contributors achieve this is remarkable. They are not all equally discriminating, of course. The United Kingdom section has a good deal of the trivial in it. Under the heading *Literature* one wonders why it was thought worth while listing 272 books, good, bad and indifferent, in 13½ pages, and under *Cinema*, 78 films in just over 4 pages. Both sections, naturally, completely defy the index maker. Not the least interesting chapter is that on Science, and there is a new chapter, this year, on Religion. The treatment of international

negotiations is one of the better features. The documentary appendix is so slight as to lead one to suppose that it is only included for the sake of tradition.

THE AMERICAS

IRONWORKS ON THE SAUGUS. By E. N. Hartley. University of Oklahoma Press. 1957. 328 pp. \$4.50.

FROM MERCHANTS TO 'COLOUR MEN'. By Miriam Hussey. University of Pennsylvania Press. 1956. xvi + 149 pp. \$5.00.

AMERICAN CITIES IN THE GROWTH OF THE NATION. By Constance McL. Green. London: Athlone Press. 1957. xii + 258 pp. 35s.

Ironworks on the Saugus may be regarded as a literary by-product of the Saugus Ironworks Restoration, a venture sponsored by American Iron and Steel Institute. The Restoration has built a replica of the first plant which, within the limits of present-day U.S.A., successfully produced cast and wrought iron. Promoted by John Winthrop the Younger and financed in England in the 1640s, the Company of Undertakers of the Ironworks in New England set up two plants in Massachusetts, at Baintree and at Lynn, intended to process local ores. The plant at Baintree came first, but its furnace did not operate for long and its forge became a subsidiary to the Lynn works. The latter, which came to be known as Hammersmith, consisted of blast furnace, forge and rolling- and slitting-mills. Technicians for the enterprise, as well as a continuing stream of unskilled workers (including for example Scottish prisoners from the battles of Dunbar and Worcester), were brought in from Britain. Production began, it seems, in 1648 and continued with fluctuating fortunes until failure was finally acknowledged around 1680 when the works were abandoned. As a study of an ambitious failure this account makes fascinating reading; the author argues that lack of working capital was the most apparent cause of failure, but realizes that this may have been a symptom of more fundamental weaknesses.

Mr. Hartley has produced a book which is much more than the history of a particular enterprise. He constantly strays far beyond his strict terms of reference in order to set the history of this firm in the general context of seventeenth-century Massachusetts and England. He has in consequence produced a comprehensive study of the economic, social, legal and technological problems involved in early industrial development. One can admire equally his broad sweeps of the telescope and his highly detailed, microscopic detective work. What might have been a piece of antiquarian writing has been transformed into a significant and profound study both of colonial America and seventeenth-century England. This book can be commended alike to the general student of the history of the seventeenth century, to the economic and social historian of any period and to the historian of industrial technology.

From Merchants to 'Colour Men' tells the story of a small but successful business, the significance of which lies in the fact that it was successful and remained small. The firm in question was founded in Philadelphia by Samuel Wetherill towards the end of the eighteenth century, trading in miscellaneous hardwares, fabrics and chemicals. By 1810 it was concentrating on the last item and had established its own factory for the production of white lead.

From then on it remained a small, specialized firm. It never seems to have employed more than one hundred workers at any time in the nineteenth century, though, owing perhaps to the unpleasantness of the work, it had a very high labour turnover. In 1933 the firm lost its independent existence upon its sale to the National Lead Company.

The author compiled this story of Wetherill's from what she described as 'a unique collection of business papers'. The collection comprises no less than 818 books which, though not an entirely complete series, afford data on sales, costs of production, prices, wages and productive methods for almost 150 years. The detail is in fact overwhelming and one would have welcomed much more guidance in its interpretation. As all attention is concentrated upon the detail and upon the firm, the reader is left without much sense of perspective: one cannot be quite certain how important a corner of the picture, of Philadelphia, or of the paint industry, or of the chemical industry, or of industry as a whole, is being examined.

American Cities is a collection of historical sketches of some sixteen different cities. The choice seems to have been determined initially by an attempt to give some chronological order to the book by characterizing the different stages of development of American life. The beginning of the nineteenth century is thus portrayed by studies of the seaboard cities, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, Boston; thence the story passes to the river cities, to the early manufacturing towns, the railroad towns, and so west to the cities of the Great Plains and the Pacific coast. Unfortunately, history cannot be forced into such a pretty pattern and the consequence is that the study of New York is abandoned when it really begins to be interesting, while Pittsburgh, San Francisco and Los Angeles, for example, are wholly ignored. Nor does the author raise many of the general questions of interpretation that spring to the mind of the economic or social or political historian in considering the title of the book, though occasionally she throws out suggestions which one would like to see explored further.

But if this book is regarded simply as a collection of unrelated studies of certain American cities, then its value is at once evident. Considered as separate essays, several chapters (especially those on Holyoke, Chicago, Denver and Washington, D.C.) are quite masterly. Illustrated with well-chosen anecdotes and incidents, every chapter is a mine of information and leads one to query some of the accepted ideas about town growth in the nineteenth century. If one complains of the lack of consideration of the broader implications of these studies, this is evidence of the stimulus derived from these essays—and a plea for the larger work which the author is so well equipped to produce.

London School of Economics

J. POTTER

WE THE PEOPLE: THE ECONOMIC ORIGINS OF THE CONSTITUTION. By Forrest McDonald. University of Chicago Press: Cambridge University Press. 1959. 436 pp. 52s. 6d.

The works of Charles Beard pose problems reaching far beyond the origins, economic or otherwise, of the American constitution. Why—in the United States, of all places!—and in the twentieth century, should an avowedly economic interpretation of that great issue have begun by provoking an

indignant sensation? And why, again, when that sensation had subsided, should this very interpretation, though sketchy, thinly researched and in its author's admission, 'frankly fragmentary', have come to dominate its field for more than a generation? The reception and history of Beard's *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* has its own fascination for the student of the America in which Beard lived and wrote; and now Dr. McDonald, in not the first but certainly the most important book on the subject since Beard's, concludes that Beard's work has nothing further to teach us about the constitution itself and should henceforth take its place among the documents of the Progressive era.

Beard did not believe in his own disclaimers; despite the statement that he had laid down only 'broad outlines', he was plainly convinced that the details, when properly filled in by others, would substantiate his thesis. Dr. McDonald's method, then, is disarmingly forthright: he fills in the details. But he does so with a depth and thoroughness that can seldom have been equalled in the annals of modern research and with an exceptional mastery of his wide and complicated sources. Following the now familiar method of parliamentary biography (for which Beard, incidentally, appears to deserve the credit: it may well be his most important contribution), Dr. McDonald has amassed all the evidence he could find about the economic interests of all the delegates at the Philadelphia convention and has then examined their votes in the convention in the light of the Beardian categories—notably, but not only, the distinction between personalty and realty interests. The same procedure is applied to the ratifying conventions, state by state; the hazards of sampling are avoided; the record, so far as possible, is made complete.

It is to be hoped that this marathon will not set a fashion. 'Check everything!' is not a watchword to be encouraged, sampling is a legitimate and generally a valid method, and historians must use judgement. Dr. McDonald's justification lies in the tenacity with which a thesis, based on tendentious assumptions and inadequate controls, had fastened itself into the minds of historians. His object is not merely to make an inventory of knowable facts but, as he states it, to clear the decks of false ideas in order to free himself to go on, in subsequent volumes, to offer a new account of the making of the constitution without having to pause at every point to refute arguments that are no longer relevant. Under his vigilant analysis, old categories dissolve and new groupings, far more numerous and complex, begin to emerge. To take his findings as to one of the broadest of all Beard's categories, that of the Philadelphia convention itself, the members did not predominantly represent property in commerce, manufactures and public security investments, but agriculture (property holdings of individuals were of course frequently diversified, and differing interests might indeed pull one man in different directions); and the delegates collectively did not behave, in Beard's formula, as a consolidated group. Moreover it is instructive to learn that one fourth of the delegates had as members of their state legislatures voted in favour of some form of paper money or debtor relief laws. Another class generally treated as solid is that of lawyers; yet Dr. McDonald points out that the interests of lawyers are to be considered in connection with those of their clients, a view which introduces significant subdivisions. Even to those who have long been sceptical of Beard's principal theses it is a

revelation to discover that hardly one of his formulations survives this searching analysis.

The ratifying conventions are treated with similar thoroughness; and one of the most valuable features of the book is the series of brief but well-grounded analyses of the immediate political and economic background in each state. These include a brilliant revision of Rhode Island history, which will never look quite the same again. Beard's assumptions involve a curious contradiction about the relationship between the Philadelphia convention and the states. The convention is supposed to have been moved by a profound distrust of state legislatures; yet it was by their state legislatures that the delegates had been appointed. This paradox, which might well be considered a starting point for a much needed analysis of state legislative structure and history, does not escape Dr. McDonald's vigilance; but he has too much respect for the complexity of the materials, and the peculiarity of each state's separate problems, to be satisfied with an alternative formula. The connections which he points out are therefore all the more interesting. He shows, moreover, that while he is dealing here with economic materials, he is aware of the reality of numerous non-economic factors. He states in his preface that economic interpretation does not work; yet he remains deeply interested in arranging the economic forces in new and significant ways—ways that would make them work; and it should be noted that before advancing his outlines for a pluralistic study of the constitution, he proposes a new and far-reaching view of economic forces. There is, he argues, a 'unifying thread' running through the legislative programmes of the several states—the theme of mercantilism. And opposition to the constitution was strongest in those states which were already doing well under the Confederation. If this hypothesis is to stand it will presumably have to be shown that opposition actually came from those elements which were doing well (which is certainly true in New York). And, further, the implied corollary as to the supporters of the constitution may yet, under examination, throw more doubt on the validity even of this modified economic system of interpretation than Dr. McDonald expects.

But he is not likely to be caught off his guard. His methods show the value to historical studies of a rigorous grounding in logic. It is one of the chief excellences of this work that the vast masses of material are not only firmly controlled, but are examined throughout not with a view to proving preconceived conclusions but in a true spirit of enquiry.

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J. R. POLE

SPANISH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION, 1782-1810. THE INTENDANT SYSTEM IN THE VICEROYALTY OF THE RIO DE LA PLATA. By John Lynch. University of London: Athlone Press, 1958. xi + 335 pp. 42s.

Mr. Lynch would have conveyed a more accurate notion of the contents of his book if he had inverted the order of his main title and his subtitle. Most of what he has to say in these pages relates to the Río de la Plata area and most of that relates to the new intendant system, whereas Spanish colonial administration in general is systematically discussed in only two of the book's twelve chapters.

As it stands, the title has the disadvantage of directing the reader's attention to the less meritorious part of the book. This, the general part, is open

to exception at many points. For example, the characterization of Charles III of Spain as an exemplar of 'so-called "enlightened despotism"' is unhistorical, for both Enlightenment and despotism (or, to be more precise, regalism) did in fact reach their apogee in Spain during Charles III's reign. Mr. Lynch's effort to justify the phrase makes matters worse. He tells us that Charles' policy was 'not uniformly intelligent'; but how many kings or governments of any kind have followed for twenty-nine years (the length of Charles' reign) a policy that was uniformly intelligent? We are then told that Charles 'rashly anticipated his own strength and prospects', got into the Seven Years War against Britain and suffered defeat and the loss of Florida and prestige; but we are not told that some fifteen years later this same Charles got into another war with Britain in which he regained the lost Florida and more besides, including prestige.

Again, Mr. Lynch's proposition that Charles's 'entire policy' was based on colonial considerations needs more support than he gives it. In this and other respects his picture of the Spanish government contrasts sharply with the one painted in Richard Herr's very recent book, *The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain*, which goes as far in the opposite direction by underplaying the colonial factor. We are still in need of a truly imperial history of Spain and her oversea possessions in this period.

Finally, while we may agree with the author that Charles III's new policy of colonial reform produced some of its most spectacular results in the Río de la Plata area, we are given, and can see, no good reason why we should accept his further assertion that 'the possibilities, and the limitations, of all the elements of [that] reform can be most effectively studied' in these Plata provinces. The plain fact is that for certain purposes the reform could be more effectively studied in other areas of Spanish America and that no single area is best for all purposes.

When Mr. Lynch fixes his attention on the intendancy and the Plata provinces, as he does throughout the greater part of this study, he does a very workmanlike job, which is based to a large extent on research in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville, Spain. After describing the establishment in 1783 of the intendant system in the viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata (which was itself only a few years old), he discusses in successive chapters the relations between that system and the viceroy, the exchequer, the public administration, the Indians, the *cabildo*, and the *audiencia*. The text is rounded out by a chapter on the coming of the revolution (i.e. the independence movement) about 1810 and a 10-page 'Conclusion'. These are followed by two appendices, one consisting of financial tables and the other of brief but interesting biographical notes on the intendants of the Plata area; a glossary of Spanish terms; a bibliography, and an index. There are also two maps, one showing Spanish America in the late eighteenth century, the other the intendancies in the viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata.

Among Mr. Lynch's conclusions on particular points, this reviewer was especially impressed by those relating to the exchequer, the Indians, the *cabildos*, and the *audiencia*. One of the Spanish government's major purposes in setting up the intendant system was to benefit the exchequer by, among other things, promoting trade and industry. This end was achieved for a time, but, we are told, this was due much more to circumstances and other measures, particularly *comercio libre*, than to the intendant system. Another

major purpose was to provide better protection for the Indians, especially by rescuing them from their age-old exploitation by the *corregidores*, who were now supplanted by the intendants; but in most respects the change did the Indians little if any good and in some cases one could say that new intendant was old *corregidor* writ large. As regards the *cabildos*, Mr. Lynch makes the very interesting point that—quite unintentionally, to be sure—the intendants aroused these municipal bodies from the lethargy into which they had fallen and helped prepare them for the important rôle they were to play in the independence movement. In his discussion of the *audiencia* he makes one of his best points by contrasting the generally irenic relations between the intendants and the new *audiencia* of Buenos Aires with the mounting tension that marked their relations with the old and jealous *audiencia* of Charcas in Upper Peru.

In the latter connection one may note one of Mr. Lynch's general conclusions, which is that, in contrast to its cool or hostile reception in other areas, the intendant system was welcomed in the new viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata. He also concludes that the system not only failed to achieve its main objectives, which included the strengthening of imperial bonds, but actually had a 'disruptive effect' on Spanish institutions. All these conclusions are well supported as regards the Plata provinces. Mr. Lynch obviously possesses a natural talent for historical writing of the monographic type and has been well trained. When he matures and broadens, perhaps he will provide us with that balanced 'imperial history' of Spain and her oversea dominions, the need for which has been noted above.

University of Pennsylvania

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

BONDSMEN AND BISHOPS: SLAVERY AND APPRENTICESHIP ON THE GODRINGTON PLANTATIONS OF BARBADOS 1710-1838. By J. Harry Bennett, Jr. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1958. xii + 176 pp. \$3.50.

Professor Bennett's new book is, as he claims, a 'case study of plantation slavery'. It is based upon the extremely rich material to be found in the papers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, relating to the estates bequeathed to the Society by Christopher Codrington and covering the entire period of the work. From this mass of evidence, Professor Bennett has been able to obtain much detailed information on the life of the plantation and its slaves. He is able to discuss their routine of labour, their discipline, their allowance of food and clothing, their housing, their medical care, their numbers and recruitment, their religious instruction or lack of it, over the years. He also discusses the Society's policies in ameliorating the conditions of its slaves, beginning in 1767 and continuing to the end of Apprenticeship. The book thus gives a detailed picture of a great West Indian plantation and of its reform, and the chapters dealing with population changes and population policies are particularly valuable. In fact, the study outlined in the subtitle has been most competently undertaken and achieved.

But larger and more dubious claims have been made for the work. Professor Klingberg's claim that its 'presentation is probably the most revealing on bondsmen in the Western world' simply will not bear examination. There are also good reasons to doubt the validity of Professor Bennett's attempt to treat the Codrington case as representative of British West Indian experience.

With these reservations, the book, which includes useful statistical tables and an index, can be recommended.

University College of the West Indies

ELSA V. GOVEIA

GREAT BASIN KINGDOM, AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS, 1830-1900. By Leonard J. Arrington. Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1958. 534 pp. 72s.

This is a first-rate economic study of a would-be exclusive frontier community guided and sustained by the firm discipline of the Mormon church and its very able leaders. The volume is divided into four main sections. The first, virtually a full scale introduction, deals with the early history of the Saints, their forced migrations from New York, Ohio, Missouri and Illinois and the final removal to the Great Basin of the Salt Lake in 1847. This period of Mormon history provides an early insight into the amazingly advanced co-operative endeavours of the Mormons, endeavours which would be needed in full measure when they sought to establish and to maintain themselves in the semi-desolation of Salt Lake. The second section covers the period 1847 to 1868 and deals with the initial trials of the Saints, the saving of the economic health of the region by the Californian gold rush, the organization of missions abroad and the immigration that resulted, the utilization of the industrial skills of the immigrants, the Utah war which, paradoxically, provided a further economic windfall, and the growth, despite the failure of many experiments, of a self sufficient economy. The third section (1869-84) examines the impact of modern American civilization as it flooded across the continent in the wake of the railroads upon a theocracy struggling to remain exclusive. Significant chapters are those on the contribution made by the Mormons themselves to railroad construction and the co-operative movements designed to keep economic control in Mormon hands. The final section (1885-1900) covers the demise of the Kingdom of the Saints as a result of anti-Mormon legislation and the assertion of the supremacy of the Federal Government.

The second and third sections of this volume are particularly well done. The economic successes and failures of the Church are skilfully examined by Professor Arrington who has the ability to make even the most prosaic economic undertaking read like the high adventure that it was. The reader is left marvelling at the incredible tenacity and courage of the Mormon pioneers as well as at the energy and vision of Brigham Young.

The author has very wisely stuck closely to his economic last and avoided, as far as possible, becoming sidetracked into any discussion of Mormon theology. The result is a significant contribution to the economic history of the United States.

University College of Wales, Aberystwyth

ALAN CONWAY

ROBERT LANSING AND AMERICAN NEUTRALITY 1914-1917. By Daniel M. Smith. University of California Press: Cambridge University Press. 1958. 241 pp. \$5.

THE WORLD WAR AND AMERICAN ISOLATION 1914-1917. By Ernest R. May. Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1959. 482 pp. 60s.

THE UNITED STATES AND EAST CENTRAL EUROPE 1914-1918. By Victor S. Mamatey. Princeton University Press: O.U.P. 1958. 431 pp. 60s.

The first two volumes are concerned with the question how the United

States entered into World War One and why, when she did, it was on the side of the Allied rather than the Central Powers. They do much to clarify the legal, strategical, material and moral issues involved. Daniel M. Smith seeks to establish the reputation of Robert Lansing as a significant maker of policy, in an interpretation which differs markedly from that of Bemis, Tansill, Van Alstyne and other earlier writers. Both as Counselor in the Department of State, and then as Secretary, Smith is convinced, Lansing 'influenced President Wilson through suggestion and quiet but persuasive argument'. 'His plethora of arguments for intervention in the conflict were instrumental in Wilson's final decision for war.' Some reservations must be entertained about this thesis in the light of the doubts held elsewhere as to the reliability of some of Lansing's own written memoranda. Smith's case appears to be somewhat overstated, as when he says, 'In the Spring of 1915 the United States moved rapidly toward active intervention in the European War'. But the interesting thing about this book, especially for those irritated by the continued emphasis on morality, both in American diplomacy and in American historical writing, is the stress laid upon Lansing's 'realism'. Lansing saw sovereignty in terms of power, and the will of the sovereign manifest not in law but in physical force. He did not deny the existence of higher spiritual impulses as motivations for human behaviour, but nevertheless believed force to be 'the great underlying actuality in all history', and especially significant in the international relations of states. However moral internal politics might have become, the international aspects of state policy remain materialistic and selfish. He wrote that, 'to assume otherwise, to feel that the foreign policy of a nation is based on unselfish motives, is a fallacious assumption, and to base a foreign policy on it is a grave error'.

Lansing's attitudes towards British and German violations of the rights of neutrals were guided by his philosophy of national self-interest: he accepted, under protest, British blockade measures because America was bound by economic ties, as well as by bonds of political sympathy, with Britain; 'strict accountability' was invoked against Germany's use of the submarine because of the absence of mutual interests between Germany and the United States.

The World War and American Isolation by Ernest May stresses the same general point. Britain did little damage to American interests; the German submarine campaign on the other hand menaced the American economy. Other factors were of course involved: the honour and dignity of the nation, the sanctity of American lives, the cause of democracy. It is, however, refreshing to find in the work of these two scholars a recognition that the demands of national interest were in fact prominent in the minds of Wilson and his advisers during the period of uneasy, and in many ways un-neutral, neutrality.

May is not however seeking to establish any particular thesis but rather to tell the story of how the United States went to war, and to stress the complexity of the issues involved. He places American diplomacy in the context of Allied and German policy, so that the reader sees the period from the viewpoint of Berlin and London, as well as of Washington. The dilemma of Bethmann, as well as of Wilson who sincerely wanted peace, is admirably described; and the scope of the book is such that room is found for discussion of the relations of the Chancellor with the Reichstag and of the attitudes of the English Tory press, as well as of those of the American hyphenate groups.

Only in his final paragraphs does May reveal himself, and perhaps unwisely. He obviously shares in the American dream of isolation and peace and sees tragedy in American intervention. He is led into a contradiction: 'Dealing with both Britain and Germany, Wilson concerned himself with the immediate interests of his country. . . . The House-Grey understanding and the peace offer of December, 1916, as well as the declaration of war, all indicated his willingness to risk immediate interests for the sake of his dream.' Can both be true?

An aspect of the diplomacy of World War One which has received relatively little attention is the policy followed by the United States towards the component parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Mamatey's elegantly written study admirably fills this gap, and will do much to dissipate the still current myth that the Americans created the Successor States. The new states created themselves by the efforts of their own nationals; at the Peace Conference the Allied statesmen contented themselves with giving the new situation international sanction. Only slowly did Wilson come to favour a territorial settlement along nationalistic lines as advocated in Putney's memoranda of May and June 1917. As late as December 1917 he was saying: 'We do not wish in any way to impair or rearrange the Austro-Hungarian Empire'; and the phrasing of Article 10 of the Fourteen Points copies the words of the Balfour telegram on the Smuts-Mensdorff conversations. Not until May 1918 did the President approve the aims of the subject races for complete independence. With the military collapse of the Central Powers the new states came into being, and before the Peace Conference had even got into its stride had received recognition by the United States.

University College of North Staffordshire, Keele

D. K. ADAMS

WESLEY'S HISTORICAL ATLAS OF THE UNITED STATES (London: George Philip, 1956. Second printing 1957. 96 pp. 16s.) is planned as a source of historical information on a wide range of themes, each map being introduced by a page of text. Though rather small, the maps are adequately clear. The *Atlas* will be useful in schools, and its American viewpoint will itself be instructive. Teachers will wish to amplify the explanatory notes.

Rhode Island before the Revolution, according to David S. Lovejoy's RHODE ISLAND POLITICS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION 1760-1776 (Brown University Press. 1958. 256 pp. \$4.50) was not only virtually independent, but enjoyed a system of government closely resembling that of the contemporary English factions and alliances. This compact and useful volume gives both an analysis of political institutions and a chronicle of developments. Some of the findings resemble those of Professor Robert E. Brown in Massachusetts, though Mr. Lovejoy's research and exposition are considerably less thorough; his third chapter, however, adds a significant account of the domestic patronage available to Rhode Islanders under the Charter, making a valuable addition to the Maryland evidence in Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage*.

I. W. Van Noppen's THE SOUTH: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY (London: D. van Nostrand. 1958. 564 pp. 51s.) is rather long for use in this country, but its documents make it a useful work of reference.

One sometimes wonders if American publishers believe that their public demands value for money in pounds weight—a very unintelligent assumption. *A SHORT HISTORY OF NEW YORK STATE* (Cornell University Press: O.U.P. 1958. 705 pp. 63s.) by David M. Ellis, James A. Frost, Harold C. Cyrett, and Harry J. Carman has much interesting material, but it suffers from this elephantiasis.

IN A FRONTIER STATE AT WAR: KANSAS, 1861–1865 (Cornell University Press: O.U.P. 1959. 251 pp. 36s.) Albert Castel sets out clearly and with ample documentation the unattractive but not unimportant sequel to the territorial history of 'Bleeding Kansas'.

Despite its somewhat flashy title, *THEN CAME THE RAILROADS: THE CENTURY FROM STEAM TO DIESEL IN THE SOUTHWEST* (University of Oklahoma Press. 1958. 336 pp. \$5.75) by Ira G. Clark is an original work of scholarship, well conceived, significant, and manageable in compass. Since the development of the Gulf Southwest was almost entirely determined by the railways, it is a useful introduction to southwestern settlement.

The Prohibition phase is certainly one of the major influences in modern American domestic history, and Gilman M. Ostrander's *THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT IN CALIFORNIA, 1848–1933* (University of California Press. 1957. 241 pp. \$5), an intelligent and pleasantly written study in social history, for this reason has national and not merely regional significance.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY (Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1958. 787 pp. \$6.50) by George H. Mayer and Walter O. Forster is a textbook on recent American history which properly comes to grips with the real problems faced by the United States, especially in foreign affairs, instead of the dream world of non-involvement with which the authors rightly believe at least some American college students still to be bemused. It is a successful and interesting venture.

GENERAL

Mr. Denis Sinor's and his publishers' claim that 'there exists no reliable and up-to-date history of Hungary in English' and that Mr. Sinor's *HISTORY OF HUNGARY* (London: Allen and Unwin. 1959. 310 pp. 25s.) therefore fills a gap, is not easy to understand. The English translation of Professor F. Eckhart's *Short History of the Hungarian People* appeared, after all, no longer ago than 1931, and M. D. Kosary's *History of Hungary* as recently as 1942. Mr. Sinor's work is only fractionally longer than either of these, seems to draw on few sources not used by his predecessors, except for the last chapter, which covers only a few pages, and is not so strikingly different in its interpretations as to knock them out of the field. If he had made his book twice as long, and thus been able to go far below the surface, it would have been a different matter: such a book is genuinely lacking. As it is, this book remains, not the first, but simply one more short history of Hungary, better than its predecessors on some points, falling short of their standard on others. It is a usable book, containing the chief history-book facts in sufficient detail for

the non-specialist, and presenting a clear picture in readable fashion. There are, indeed, notable omissions: we hear next to nothing of ethnic conditions in the Danube Basin at the date of the Hungarians' arrival, nor of the subsequent colonization: the Transylvanian Saxons, for example, and for that matter the Szekelys, are first mentioned in connection with the fifteenth century. Instead, we have the dubious statement that 'Hungary's multi-national character owes its being to the Mongol massacres'. Some statements on the early development of the Hungarian state are remarkable: thus, that the lands taken by St. Stephen as Crown lands and as his private property were the old communally-owned tribal lands of the Magyar tribe, is the precise reverse of the truth.

Although obviously a patriotic Hungarian, Mr. Sinor avoids national megalomania and romanticism. He describes his social attitude as lying about midway between the 'traditional' and the Marxist points of view, which is a healthy position and often enables him to show a refreshing and valuable independence of judgement (how good it is to find Matthias Corvinus' foreign policy described as the greedy land-grabbing that it was!). At other times, Mr. Sinor seems sometimes to be over-indulgent, sometimes over-severe.

There is no bibliography, no footnotes and no indication of sources, except for a single reference to Szekfü. In the main, Mr. Sinor seems to depend chiefly on a few fairly familiar secondary classics, except for the earliest period, where he appears to have used the Hungarian chronicles direct, and on certain questions, his own admirable specialist works on subjects which, unfortunately, are too little related to most of the material with which he has had to deal in writing this volume.

All Souls College, Oxford

G. A. MACARTNEY

THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH NAVY. By Michael Lewis. London: Allen and Unwin. 1959. 259 pp. 25s.

This is a reissue, in hard covers and with a few verbal amendments, of a work published in 1957 as a Pelican book. It is thus directed at a wide audience, which it deserves to reach. There has been no satisfactory short introduction to British naval history for a long time, and the more recent works of general interest, notably those of Sir Herbert Richmond, Professor Christopher Lloyd, and Professor Lewis himself, have all been concerned principally with one or more aspects of the subject. Professor Lewis has therefore aimed at filling a gap.

Within the limits of the evidence available, he has succeeded well. The story is told with balance, clarity, and a vigour amounting at times to gusto. Nor is it simply the oft-told tale, beloved of the older school of naval historians, of the battle and the breeze. The author has set out to show '1. What [the Navy] is, and how it came to be so. 2. What it did, and why'. We are offered, in fact, a properly articulated history, in which strategy, tactics, and the structure of the Service are seen in the perspective of national policy and, where possible, of administration.

It is therefore to be hoped that Professor Lewis's book will become a natural introduction to naval history. It is also to be hoped that it will, here and there, stimulate a reader to examine for himself some aspects of the subject that remain largely neglected. For, as a look at the useful bibliography reminds us, we still know far too little about naval administration

and finance, particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; about the relations between strategy and trade; and even about the conduct of some of the wars themselves from the centre of government. Naval history, in the broad sense in which Professor Lewis has defined it, still needs much study, by scholars approaching it from various directions and through various disciplines. Meanwhile, we must be grateful to him for having set in perspective, so clearly and concisely, the results of past research.

JOHN EHRLMAN

IN THE BRITISH PAPER INDUSTRY 1495-1860. A STUDY IN INDUSTRIAL GROWTH (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1958. xvi + 367 pp. 55s.) Dr. D. C. Coleman is concerned with the first phase when rags were the main raw material used by the industry. The second phase, the wood-pulp phase, is to be the subject of a later volume. In this trade England was a late developer. Of the three uses of paper, wrapping, writing and printing, the last has been the pacemaker of change. The sixteenth-century surge in demand following the invention of printing led to an expansion of imports and to efforts to establish a native industry. Although there were a number of attempts from 1495 onwards, not till 1588 can the paper industry be said to have been established in this country and steady expansion did not come till the later seventeenth century. The industry developed with some help from alien workers but more from tariff protection, but the infant industry grew up and its well-being was not threatened when duties were removed in 1861. Using water-power and with modest capital needs, it was at first a widely dispersed, small-scale industry. The Industrial Revolution brought two developments, the use of steam-power and the invention of the Foudrinier paper-making machine, which together led to industrial and geographical concentration. These changes were adopted slowly and the output of hand-made paper did not begin to fall sharply until 1830, thus confirming Sir John Clapham's dictum about the speed of industrial change in England in the early nineteenth century. But the main problem facing the industry, that of securing an expanding supply of cheap raw materials, remained unsolved. Dr. Coleman is concerned with the overall picture of the industry's development and the one regret may be that the sketches of individual men and particular enterprises are so brief. His study does, however, demonstrate how lucky is the historian whose subject attracts government concern for, drawing on such records, he has been able to give an enviably full picture of production and imports. If the business man suffers, the historian benefits.

University College of Swansea W. E. MINCHINTON

BRITAIN'S DISCOVERY OF RUSSIA 1553-1815. By M. S. Anderson. London: Macmillan. 1958. viii + 245 pp. 30s.

Englishmen at first saw Muscovy as a country of ignorance, drunkenness, wife-beating, sodomy and sorcery, but the political implications of Poltava compelled more than an anthropological approach. There was, however, little real appreciation of the Russian problem before the later years of Catherine II. Public interest lagged behind official interest. The muddle of 1756 reveals that even statesmen did not perceive that Russian policy had its own aims and purposes, to which Dr. Anderson does less than justice by stating that Bestuzhev-Ryumin 'disliked Prussia almost as much as he coveted

English bribes'. In general, Englishmen valued Russian trade and respected the Russian army, but tended to think of Russia only as an auxiliary. Thus in the French wars between 1799 and 1814 Russia's popularity fell and rose with the failure or success of her armies. By 1814, however, there was a realization that Russia was not a state on the periphery of Europe, but occupied an important position in international politics, though many British ideas about Russia remained erroneous. If George I's dubious scheme of 1719, scarcely considered in this book, is to be dismissed as Hanoverian rather than British, an assumption open to question, the Younger Pitt can be regarded as the first minister to conceive the need for an active policy towards the Russian problem. Dr. Anderson's view is that Pitt's scheme of 1791 met with 'lack of comprehension from his own cabinet' and 'because, largely through his failure to explain and justify it in advance, it was hopelessly unpopular with the country at large and hence quite impracticable'. It could, on the other hand, be argued that Pitt's critics showed commendable caution in objecting to what was virtually the Bourbons' eastern European policy. Charles XII had, moreover, marched to disaster at Poltava and Napoleon's disaster in 1812 was to prove up to the hilt the dangers of war with Russia. Pitt's policy, possible only because of the temporary impotence of France, was impracticable not for its unpopularity, but for its sheer incompetence. If this book has a fault, it lies in its reluctance to compare British opinion with what were the facts of the case in Eastern Europe. Some observers were more astute than others, but Dr. Anderson is not always concerned to assess the weight of rival arguments.

Queen Mary College, London

R. F. LESLIE

In his *IRISH FAMILIES* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis. 1957. 366 pp. xxvii plates. 5 gns.), the late Chief Herald of Ireland, Dr. Edward MacLysaght, disclaims any pretence at having produced a work of profound learning; he is more concerned to correct common misconceptions about Irish families and nomenclature. The bulk of this handsome volume, which was entirely produced in Eire, is composed of notices of some 243 families which the author reckons as Irish (including many of alien stock which became 'native' before the time of Elizabeth); these are followed by 27 well-drawn coloured plates of the arms of some of these families, and these in turn by some 50 articles on later Anglo-Irish families. There are some useful appendices, a full bibliography and two helpful maps. The various articles give information, which is often of great interest, about the etymology of the name and the various forms which it may assume; to this is added a brief history of the family and the names of a few of its better known members, generally those who have distinguished themselves, however obscurely, in the cause of Irish freedom. Historians will wish that Dr. MacLysaght could have expanded these sections slightly in at least the more notable families. Under Burke, for example, the reader gets no picture of the ramifications of this involved family, and the ancient but unjustified identification of its founder with William FitzAdelm is repeated. Under O'Neill there is no mention of the striking fact that the male line of Niall King of Ireland (killed 919) is still extant in Portugal. There are also surprising omissions among the 'ascendancy' families in Part IV, such as those of Ponsonby or Sadleir, the latter having produced, albeit in Dublin Castle, the most eminent Irish genealogist

of this century. Lastly the reader will look in vain for a clear definition of the present position of heraldry in Ireland. Some blazons appear to belong to prescribed families, others to whole septs. Why, for instance, are the arms of Lysaght, Lord Lisle, rather than the differenced version of Lysaght of Hazlewood, assigned generically to MacLysaght? All in all, this is a useful work of reference but it does not begin to answer many of the questions which vex the genealogist and historian interested in Irish problems.

Trinity College, Oxford

MICHAEL MACLAGAN

BINGLEY—A YORKSHIRE TOWN THROUGH NINE CENTURIES. By E. E.

Dodd. Bingley: Harrison. 1958. xvi + 268 pp. 30s.

A HISTORY OF YARM. By J. W. Wardell. Author (Eastry House, Yarm).

1957. 230 pp. 30s. (32s. 4d. post free).

ANNALS OF WEST COKER. By the late Sir Matthew Nathan. Cambridge

University Press. 1957. xxiv + 570 pp. 60s.

That great difficulty which faces all local historians, to know where to throw the emphasis of the story, is well illustrated by these works. Bingley, a typical large West Riding parish with several hamlets, grew with the Industrial Revolution, and Mr. Dodd has been well advised to concentrate on its later history. Like many such places, its growth was uneven. Bingley, the original centre and market became industrialized, while the other hamlets remained predominantly rural. Places like this presented a curious problem in local government and it is one of the best features of an interesting book that the author gives full weight to the achievements of the Improvement Commissioners. A useful book for anyone who wants to learn something of the anarchic conditions in local government in Victorian England.

In dealing with Yarm, Mr. Wardell faced a very different problem. Here the story is one of decline from the river port which paid £42 in 1205 for customs, to the pleasant village of today. Mr. Wardell traces its history clearly and pleasantly, though why Yarm, situated at the lowest crossing and head of navigation of the Tees should have declined as it did, is something of a mystery. The author is inclined to blame the great flood of 1753, but it seems more likely that Yarm was on the wrong side of the Tees to compete with Stockton in the eighteenth century and too high up to compete with Middlesbrough in the nineteenth. Hence a temptation to overstress the medieval period, which the author ably resists. He is as good on the struggles of Yarm in the later period to keep on terms with Stockton, as he is on the Blackfriars and the Bruces of Skelton in the earlier.

There is something of the prolixity of some medieval chronicles about the late Sir Matthew Nathan's *Annals of West Coker*. Despite judicious pruning by Professor Postan, who saw the book through the press, and the fact that it stops short in 1829, the book is of enormous length. This is due to two causes; if nothing is happening in West Coker, the author diverges into the general history of Somerset, and he can never pass by the name of an obscure peasant in any document without trying to tell us something about him and his family, which leads to a lot of repetition. But the book has one supreme merit, which makes it a *sine qua non* for local historians anywhere in England. The author was well served by two record agents who combed the Public Record Office for him, whilst he, helped by some notable academic historians, worked on the local sources. As he was not afraid of footnotes (and put them

at the foot of the page) he has produced the best guide I have ever seen to the sources of local history. For this reason alone, every local historian, and every library that caters for local historians ought to possess a copy of this book.

University of Hull

F. W. BROOKS

TEACH YOURSELF LOCAL HISTORY. By F. Celoria. London: English Universities Press. 1959. vii + 182 pp. 7s. 6d.

No amateur local historian should be without this little book. Mr. Celoria, who is honorary secretary of the Hampstead Local History Society, has achieved an astonishing feat of compression. After useful introductory chapters on aims, sources and methods, he deals with the physical background, folklore, Domesday and the manor, communications, churches and other buildings, archaeology, economic history, local government, maps, and place-names, mostly in an easy style. An enthusiast, he writes encouragingly, but emphasizes the great dangers of excavation by amateur archaeologists and the imperative need for proper attention to documentary sources and evidence. It is an essentially practical guide, with some hundreds of recommended books for further reading.

With the aid of Mr. Celoria's book and the Association's *Local History Handlist* (a revised edition of which is in preparation), the student can go a long way towards training and equipping himself to storm the citadels and release the hidden treasures for the benefit of himself and others.

The author has read widely and selected wisely, even to a little known but vital article in the new *Journal of the Society of Archivists* drawing attention to the duplicate plans of most London buildings since 1845 in the Record Office at County Hall. He is mainly up-to-date, too, in his conclusions, having himself studied the latest books and articles on his subject. In a helpful paragraph on parish tithe maps, he fails, however, to explain that one of the three contemporary copies is now usually found in the county record office. The maps are well drawn, and the whole arrangement is designed to answer the thousand-and-one queries of the local historian. Time after time he interrupts pleasant reading with severely cautionary advice: anything approaching airy-fairy generalizations is rightly anathema to Mr. Celoria. It is a book for the pocket as well as the shelf, and it is good value.

Essex Record Office, Chelmsford

F. G. EMMISON

ROBERT BOYLE AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CHEMISTRY. By Marie Boas.

Cambridge University Press. 1958. viii + 240 pp. 30s.; HISTORY AND

PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE—AN INTRODUCTION. By L. W. H. Hull.

London: Longmans. 1959. xii + 340 pp. 25s.; SCIENCE AND RELIGION

IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND. By Richard S. Westfall. Yale

University Press: O.U.P. x + 235 pp. 36s.

The battle of Ancients and Moderns, in a somewhat different form, plagues the twentieth century almost as much as it did the seventeenth. Mr. Hull's book is explicitly concerned with 're-uniting the interests of scientist and humanist which in pre-technical ages were less divergent than they are now'. Professor Westfall deals with one—but that a very important one—aspect of the impact of the 'new science' on the religious convictions of both its practitioners and opponents. And the subject of Professor Boas's study is

the man usually regarded as the leading figure in this struggle, Robert Boyle.

Though Mr. Hull to some extent disarms criticism by his sub-title—'An Introduction'—the title itself is, to say the least, unfortunate. For his courageous, challenging, and very readable book is neither history nor philosophy of science. It is not (in the reviewer's opinion) history of science since, apart from evolution and the work of Harvey, biology is virtually ignored (e.g. the sixteenth century botanists, and Spallanzani, Ioannes Müller, Claude Bernard, Pasteur, to name but a few examples, are not even mentioned); and there is a corresponding failure to recognize the appalling difficulty inherent in the task of 'getting chemistry going' before the atomic theory—Black is a strange omission here. In regard to the relations between science and philosophy Mr. Hull has many interesting things to say which are refreshingly free from the dogmatic one-sidedness characteristic of so much professional philosophy today. But he hardly grapples with the analysis of the fundamental categories of scientific thought—space, time, causality, etc. Instead of writing-off Descartes and Leibniz as 'perhaps over-celebrated as philosophers' he might have shown how vital was their (and Spinoza's) contribution to *the recognition of the problems* raised by the new modes of scientific thought. But if the book hardly lives up to its title, the fault is the title's rather than the book's. The inclusion of sections describing much later developments of the scientific ideas or instruments under discussion gives a clue to what Mr. Hull is really trying to do—to provide a historical and critical approach to modern science. 'It is urgently necessary', he writes, 'to restore the unity of intellectual life. Unless we do so, we shall soon lose most of what is best in Western Civilization'. Towards this laudable end he has made a significant contribution. Though historians may feel uncomfortable in the presence of his too rigid categories of 'Scientific Revolution' 'Reason and Authority' and the like, they could hardly fail to profit from this very stimulating work, in which the relations of natural science and mathematics are explained with notable clarity, and errors in detail are no more numerous than is inevitable in a work ranging over so wide a field.

Professor Boas's study of Robert Boyle will appeal mainly to historians of science. If it was really necessary, as she claims, 'to correct the tendency to treat the seventeenth century as a time of stagnation in chemistry' she has administered the correction in a manner which combines urbanity with thoroughness and authenticity. For this, and the long biographical introduction, she has drawn on a very considerable knowledge of Boyle's numerous printed works, and has had access to the large collection of his papers in the possession of the Royal Society. It is to the first chapter, 'The Making of a Scientist', and the following one on 'The New Chemistry', that historians in general will chiefly turn for enlightenment, and they will on the whole be in the hands of a most reliable guide. They should be warned, however, that not all historians of science would regard Professor Boas's concern with the relations between 'natural philosophy', 'physics' and 'chemistry' in the seventeenth century as very helpful—at any rate until an independent investigation of the origins of these categories has been carried out. Also the references to Paracelsus (*via* Glauber!) may give a grossly misleading view of that Protean figure. The remainder of the book consists of a detailed study of Boyle's many contributions to the immensely difficult task of establishing

chemistry as an exact science. This will repay the most careful reading and is likely to remain a basis for further studies for some considerable time to come.

While the above books present the views of two scientists on territory which in varying degrees is or should be the meeting ground of Science and the Arts, the third volume under review is concerned less with science as such than with the impact of new modes of scientific thinking on contemporary religion. It claims, more precisely, to be 'the first attempt to study systematically the religious opinions of seventeenth century scientists in the light of their importance to the future of Christianity'. If, as more than one recent writer has pointed out, nothing encouraged the rise of natural knowledge in Europe more than the form of medieval Christianity, no religion was more vulnerable than Christianity to the impact of the 'experimental mathematical philosophy'; since, as Professor Westfall is quick to point out, 'Christianity had always stated its doctrines in terms of the prevailing philosophical principles'. The change from an earth-centred, mainly teleological, cosmology to an infinite universe of possible worlds whose motions betrayed no more inherent purpose than an efficient clock was bound to alarm those who remained aloof from the activities of the *virtuosi*. The orbs might, as in Dryden's lovely hymn, 'proclaim their great Originall'—or they might not: faith was now in the eyes of the beholder. The grades and subtleties of the ensuing controversies are portrayed by apt quotation and critical comment, followed by a valuable bibliographical essay. No student of science, religion, or the seventeenth century should miss the pleasure and instruction to be derived from this admirable work.

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JUDGEMENTS ON HISTORY AND HISTORIANS (London: Allen and Unwin, 1959. 258 pp. 18s.) is a translation by Harry Zohn of Jacob Burckhardt's *Historische Fragmente*, a selection of Burckhardt's lecture notes, with the omission of the critical and bibliographical material of the German edition. The introduction by Professor H. R. Trevor-Roper draws attention to the interest of Burckhardt's ideas for the historian today, but it is hardly relevant to the present volume. This is poorly translated, and was not worth translating: it can only give the impression that Burckhardt wanted to substitute for the dictatorship of facts the dogmatism of ideas.

Two doctoral dissertations in the field of historiography, in the series of theses published by the Catholic University of America, are *THE HISTORICAL THOUGHT OF JOSE ORTEGA Y GASSET* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of Washington Press, 1958. 182 pp. \$2) by Christian Ceplecha, O.S.B., and *THE HISTORICAL THOUGHT OF P.-J.-B. BUCHEZ* (1958. 133 pp. \$1.50) by Barbara Patricia Petri. Ortega is, of course, not an historian and hardly even a philosopher of history. Fr. Ceplecha, in a conscientious study, admits frankly that he 'gave nothing really new to historical thought'. Buchez, as one of the compilers of the great *Histoire parlementaire de la révolution française*, is more relevant to historical studies. Miss Petri's survey helps to place him in the development of the sociological-religious thought of nineteenth-century France.

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